33453/B

Stab 157

Thos. Peace

62662

ORIGINES HEBRÆÆ:

THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HEBREW REPUBLIC.

BY

THOMAS LEWIS, M.A.

A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
MDCCCXXXV.

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

PREFACE.

IT would be ill nature, I think, if any severe censure should pass upon this work, unless there appears an evident disproportion between the design and the abilities of the writer, or a notorious defect of method and order in the execution.

For, to do full justice to a subject so divine and extensive, to explain with learning and judgment the antiquities of so renowned a part of mankind as the republic of the Hebrews, is so far from wanting a defence, that it affords large improvements to the history of human nature, and admirably serves the interest of Christianity itself; insomuch, that to attempt after knowledge in the doctrines and discipline of the gospel, without searching into the customs and ceremonies of the law, is a preposterous pursuit, and must end in ignorance and disappointment: for example, how can the merits of the death and sufferings of the Messiah be understood, without inquiring into the system of the legal sacrifices? And how can the most sagacious student in divinity be able to conceive the true sense of the eloquent Epistle to the Hebrews, except he has been also thoroughly conversant in the writings of Moses?

Now, whether my strength has been equal to the undertaking, should be decided properly by those who have engaged in the same studies, who have turned over the rubbish and are acquainted with the absurd fables, the affected darkness, and unaccountable riddles of the Jewish doctors; and such will have the candour to consider, how long and untrodden, and almost indiscernible is the way, that the guides to direct are few, their language rough and frightful,

their method so confused, their matter so empty and sophistical, so abounding with trifles, as if they were never to be read, and with obscurities, as if they never designed to be understood.

Besides, how perplexed and almost unintelligible are some parts of the Levitical law as it stands revealed! What seeming oppositions in many places, what sudden and abrupt transitions, what frequent repetitions, and other discouraging circumstances, run through the whole! So that to fail in the management of a subject so full of difficulties can be no surprise; nor can I apprehend any great scandal or disreputation to follow from it. In short, such as peruse the following volumes to search for real faults, and raise pertinent objections, I am confident may find them in abundance, and I should rejoice to see them under correction; but for those who shall assume a liberty of making faults where there are none, and without being able to judge of the work condemn it, upon the account of an imaginary meanness and insignificancy in the character of the author, I shall despise the rudeness and malignity of such treatment, having the old maxim before me:

> Hi præ cæteris solent aliena liberius carpere, qui nihil proprium ediderunt.

But whatever mistakes I have committed, and whatever qualifications I have wanted, I am apt to believe that the method in disposing the materials is regular and unexceptionable; because I had no hand in contriving the model, but have followed the order observed generally by all who have written with success upon this subject.

The authorities from whence these collections have been made are many, and of various kinds; for I have called in freely all the assistance I could obtain, in every language I understood or could procure help in, as well from the ancients as from writers of a more modern date and uniform design. The two Talmuds, that of Babylon and Jerusalem, as they contain the substance of the Jewish divinity, and treat of

the religion and ceremonies of that nation, have been consulted and made use of, but with great caution and reserve; because so much bigotry and folly, such a mixture of Pharisaism, allegory, and traditionary superstition, prevail in those paraphrases, that the difficulty was to form a judgment of what was proper to be inserted, and what would give the clearest light to revelation, without blending the idle trifles and ridiculous glosses of the rabbins, with the purity, the majesty, and the divine testimony of the scriptures.

Among the rabbins, Maimonides, the great oracle of the Jews, has been particularly applied to upon many occasions; an author, as Cunæus observes, above our highest commendation; the only man of that nation who had the good fortune to understand what it is to write seriously and to the purpose.

The civil and ecclesiastical polity of the Hebrews is taken from the short tracts of Bertram, Sigonius, and Cunæus. I have been obliged to Braunius for the account of the pontifical and sacerdotal vestments; to Buxtorf chiefly for the description of the tabernacle and the worship of the synagogue; for the survey of the first temple, to Ribera and Arias Montanus; and of the second, to a countryman of our own, the most judicious and indefatigable Lightfoot, the most inexhaustible treasure of Oriental learning, and without whose labours it had been impossible for me to have attempted upon this subject. From Dr. Outram I have given the account of the sacrifices and rites of sacrificing among the Hebrews.

I have received much information from Josephus, Schickard, Menochius, Leusden, Hospinian, and Reland; and I have been eased of great trouble by Mr. Weemse, Mr. Godwyn, Mr. Broughton, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Selden, Mr. Mede, Mr. Thorndike, bishop Kidder, bishop Patrick in his most excellent Commentaries, and Dr. Prideaux in his learned Connexion. From these and many more I

have collected the antiquities that follow, always taking the liberty to translate, to imitate, or even literally to introduce any parts of them, if I found them really conducing to the use or ornament of the design; for I could never discover any merit or cunning in varying the style and sense of an author, for no other purpose than to conceal the ignorance of the transcriber, or to destroy an obligation of gratitude which ought to be confessed to all mankind.

After this pompous account, it is possible that the expectation of the reader may be raised, and therefore I am still ready to acknowledge as much ignorance and inadvertency as the most ill-natured can demand of me; and among very many more, I am sensible of one great imperfection in this work, arising from the want of copper-plates and tables to illustrate the variety of buildings, utensils, &c., which perhaps remain obscure after all endeavours to explain them. But yet it must be allowed to be a difficult task to describe structures and places and things at a distance and unseen; and I was conscious how small a figure this performance would make, and therefore it would have been base and unfaithful to have led the undertakers into such an expense.

If any degree of favour or encouragement should chance to attend this work, I shall go on cheerfully, by God's aid, to finish it in another volume[a]; which I propose to begin with inquiring into the idolatry and false worship of the Hebrews; and then, when I have given a short description of the city of Jerusalem, I shall proceed to explain the municipal laws; such as respected the subjects in their private and domestic capacities; such as belonged to the public and the commonwealth, relating to contracts, bargains, estates, and inheritances; such as concerned strangers

[a] The work was originally published in four volumes: the first and second contained books I. II. III. and IV. and appeared in 1724: the third and fourth volumes comprised books V. VI. VII. and VIII. and were printed in 1725.

and matters of a foreign nature, as the laws of peace and war, of commerce and dealing with persons of other countries; and such as secured the honour and interest of religion from idolatry and apostasy, from blasphemy and sacrilege. Then likewise will be considered the method of measuring time among the Hebrews; their learning, particularly the number, division, language, and authority of the canonical scriptures; their historiography, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture; their weights, measures, and coins; their pastoral art, agriculture, and other miscellaneous rites and usages, both public and private, which were peculiarly calculated for that people, and by which they were remarkably distinguished from other nations.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

Chap. i. The rise, progress, and decay of the Hebrew state. . P. 1
Chap. ii. A description of the Holy Land, with its several names and divisions, till it became a province of the Roman empire 26
Chap. iii. The inhabitants of the Holy Land, Canaanites, Hebrews, Samaritans, Hellenists, Proselytes, and Jews 33
Chap. iv. A general view of the different forms of government among the Hebrews—patriarchal, judicial, monarchical, and sacerdotal 40
Chap. v. The monarchy of the Hebrews; the inauguration of their kings; the form of anointing, proclaiming, and crowning; the royal guards, Cerethites and Pelethites; the ensigns of majesty, officers of state, and the extent of regal power in things civil and sacred 46
Chap. vi. The civil consistories among the Hebrews. The institution of the great sanhedrim, their authority and jurisdiction, with an account of the lower courts of judicature 63
Chap. vii. The forms of judgment, and methods of trial in the public courts of justice 77
Chap. viii. The capital punishments among the Hebrews; stoning, burning, slaying with the sword or beheading, and strangling: death by the hand of Heaven, and death by cutting off.... 83
Chap. ix. Punishments not capital; imprisonment, restitution, the law of *talio*, or like for like, scourging, excommunication, rebel's beating, &c. 90

BOOK II.

Chap. i. The original of the Hebrew priesthood; the succession of the high priests, from their first institution to the birth of Christ 99

Chap. ii. The consecration of the high priest; the pontifical robes described, the ephod, the breastplate, the robe, the plate of gold, the coat, the drawers, the girdle, and the mitre: the form of anointing, and the peculiar sacrifices that attended the solemnity 107

Chap. iii. The particular privileges and immunities of the high priest; the manner of inquiring of God by Urim and Thummim 123

Chap. iv. The deputies of the high priest, the anointed for the wars, and the sagan, or second priest 130

Chap. v. The order of the priests, the katholikin, the seven immarcalin, the gizbarin, overseers, presidents, &c. 134

Chap. vi. The election and induction of common priests, the blemishes and defects that made them incapable of officiating in the priesthood, their qualifications for ministering in sacred offices 139

Chap vii. The four and twenty courses of priests; their manner of drawing lots after the Babylonish captivity; the service and division of every course; the ministry of every priest decided by lot; their sacred offices, particularly their form of blessing the people; the sacerdotal garments 152

Chap. viii. The revenue of the Hebrew priesthood; the payment of firstfruits; the redemption of the firstborn, and the firstlings 162

Chap. ix. An account of the Hebrew tithe; the first, second, and third tithe; the tithing of cattle 169

Chap. x. Of things devoted; the nature and obligation of vows 179

Chap. xi. The Levitical order; the age of admission of the Levites; the time of discharge from duty; their consecration; and their several offices under the tabernacle 189

Chap. xii. The office of the templar Levites, porters, singers, musicians, treasurers; the provincial Levites 195

Chap. xiii. The number of the Levitical cities, with the use and extent of their suburbs; the cities of refuge, and their privileges 207

Chap. xiv. The office of the Nethinims and the stationary men 213
Chap. xv. The institution of prophets, their schools and seminaries, and methods of education. Revelation by dreams, visions, and immediate inspirations. Of Bath-Kol, or *the daughter of a voice* 217
Chap. xvi. The trial and punishment of false prophets. . . . 227
Chap. xvii. Impostors among the Hebrews; offerers of children to Moloch 231
Chap. xviii. A diviner, an observer of times, an enchanter, a witch, a charmer, a consulter with familiar spirits, a wizard, and a necromancer 236
Chap. xix. Of Nazarites, votaries among the Hebrews; and Rechabites 248
Chap. xx. The sects among the Hebrews, the principles and practices of the Pharisees 255
Chap. xxi. The scribes 268
Chap. xxii. Titulary distinctions among the Pharisees and scribes, *rab, rabbi, rabban*, &c 270
Chap. xxiii. The Sadducees 275
Chap. xxiv. The Karraites 280
Chap. xxv. The Essenes 282
Chap. xxvi. Herodians, Publicans, and Galileans 303

BOOK III.

Chap. i. High places, used by the Hebrews for divine worship 308
Chap. ii. The tabernacle erected by Moses, its form and dimensions 313
Chap. iii. The holy place with its furniture described; the table of shewbread; the golden candlestick; the altar of incense 323
Chap. iv. The most holy place; the ark of the covenant . . 332
Chap. v. The court of the tabernacle; the altar of burnt offering; the laver of brass 341
Chap. vi. The consecration of the tabernacle, and all its vessels and utensils. The descent of the holy fire upon the altar of burnt offerings 347
Chap. vii. The Israelites guided in their marches by the pillar of a cloud, or of fire. The office of the Levites in taking down and setting up the tabernacle 353
Chap. viii. The various motions and stations of the tabernacle and the ark, till they were placed in the temple of Solomon. . 360

Chap. ix. The proseuchas of the ancient Hebrews..... 370
Chap. x. The temple of Solomon; the preparations for the building; the foundation, walls, porch, &c., collected from the account of scripture..... 381
Chap. xi. The furniture of the most holy place and of the sanctuary. The ark, the altar of incense, ten tables of shewbread, ten golden candlesticks, bowls, basons, spoons, &c. The pillars Boaz and Jachin..... 397
Chap. xii. The courts of the temple; the altar of burnt offering, the brasen sea, the ten lavers of brass. The gates of the courts. The dedication of the temple..... 402
Chap. xiii. The second temple; its courts, dimensions, &c. described chiefly from the rabbinical writings. The mountain of the house, the first wall, and buildings within it..... 417
Chap. xiv. The courts of the temple. The chel. The court of the women..... 426
Chap. xv. The court of Israel, or of the priests; its gates and buildings..... 435
Chap. xvi. The altar of burnt offering; the laver..... 444
Chap. xvii. A description of the temple, its height, length, and breadth; its chambers, galleries, &c..... 453
Chap. xviii. The holy place, with its furniture. The most holy place..... 460
Chap. xix. The dedication of the temple; its final destruction by the Romans..... 466
Chap. xx. The reverence paid to the temple, and the places belonging to it. The different holiness of the several parts of the temple..... 471
Chap. xxi. The original of synagogues; the form of them; the officers belonging to them..... 479
Chap. xxii. The service of the synagogue. The public prayers. The reading of the scriptures. Expounding and preaching. The times of worship in the synagogue..... 489

THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HEBREW REPUBLIC.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The rise, progress, and decay of the Hebrew state.

TO search into the origin of states and kingdoms, as it is the most noble and delightful part of history, so it is generally attended with great discouragements, occasioned by the loss of books and records, destroyed either by ignorance or time, which makes the difficulties appear formidable, and not to be overcome. But the present design has no misfortune of this kind to contend with; for as the Hebrews were always distinguished as the favourites of Heaven, so the care of Providence was seen in nothing more than in preserving the sacred writings of that people, and transmitting them uncorrupt to posterity.

By those oracles of truth we are told, that the patriarch Jacob, who was called Israel, gave the name of Israelites to his family; who were likewise called Hebrews, from Heber, one of the progenitors of that patriarch, and of the fourth generation after

BOOK I. Noah. This was no more than a family of shepherds, who lived by feeding of cattle in the land of Canaan, and distressed by famine were obliged to remove into Egypt, where God in a miraculous manner had advanced Joseph, one of the sons, to be viceroy of that fertile country, and raised him to that state of grandeur by many strange and unsearchable methods of divine Providence. By his two wives, the daughters of his uncle Laban, and his two handmaids, Jacob had twelve sons, who afterwards became founders of the twelve tribes of the Jewish nation. This patriarch, after an age of an hundred forty-seven years, died in Egypt. His posterity for some time underwent a miserable servitude in that country; till God, remembering the covenant he had made with their fathers, rescued them from the iron furnace, and conducted them through the wilderness into the land of promise, formed them into a commonwealth, and settled them under a more fixed and certain dispensation.

The person appointed by Providence for this purpose was Moses, the son of Amram, the son of Cohath, the son of Levi, the third son of Jacob, the founder of the Hebrew polity. The wonderful preservation of this person, when an infant, presaged him to be born for great and generous undertakings. When he came to a mature age, he was restored by his mother to the Egyptian princess, the daughter of Pharaoh, who had preserved him. This lady adopted him for her own son, bred him up at court, where he was polished with all the arts of a noble and ingenuous education, instructed in the modes of civility and behaviour, in the methods of policy and government, and in all the learning and

wisdom of the Egyptians. This great personage, thus excellently qualified, was made choice of to be the commander and deliverer of the Hebrew nation; and not only freed them from bondage, but loaded them with the riches of the country; and in an amazing manner, by the power of Providence, destroyed the king and his enraged army. After he had obtained their freedom, he led them into the deserts of Arabia, where, upon mount Sinai, he conversed with God, and received the divine pattern, after which the ecclesiastical and civil government of the Hebrews was to be modelled. The code and digest of those laws consisted of moral, ecclesiastical, and political precepts, and will be particularly explained in the prosecution of this work. Moses, after he had settled the church discipline, and obtained many victories over Arad, Amalek, Sehon, and Og, in his passage towards Canaan, was not permitted to lead the people into the land of promise; but before he died, he committed the supreme authority to Joshua, after his decease, and implored the Spirit of God to qualify him for it. This was done by the solemn ceremony of laying on of hands; for power to execute any office among the Jews was given by imposition of hands, whereby the person was ordained and appointed to it: and this was a rite of prayer likewise, as many have observed, for the obtaining the gifts of the Spirit which were necessary for the discharge of that office. Moses, a short time before his death, presented Joshua to God, by his own command, and he succeeded him in the government. CHAP. 1.

Joshua, an Ephraimite, extended the conquests of his predecessor by the overthrow of one and thirty A.M.2554.

BOOK I. kings, settled the Israelites in the promised land, and divided it among them according to their tribes. He is supposed to have written the last chapter of Deuteronomy, and his own acts, containing the space of fourteen years; seven employed in the conquests, wherein many of the Canaanites fled for fear, and settled themselves (according to Mr. Selden) in Africa; and the other seven were spent in the division of the land. He held the first council in Shechem, with Eleazar the high priest, for abolishing strange worship, and burying the bones of Joseph. He settled the tabernacle in Shiloh, where it continued three hundred sixty-nine years, till the time of Eli. This great general died honourably, but left the nation without a governor; for there was an interregnum and a state of anarchy for eight years, till God raised up Othniel to be a judge and an avenger of his people. And thus was introduced

The government of the Hebrews by Judges.

A.M. 2599. Othniel, of the tribe of Judah, was the first. He led the Israelites against Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, whom he overthrew, and settled peace among his countrymen till his death. His successor was

A.M. 2679. Ehud, a Benjamite. He slew Eglon, the king of Moab, by a stratagem, under whose yoke the Israelites had fallen, upon the account of their idolatry. After him were

A.M. 2719. Deborah the prophetess and Barak the Naphtalite, who routed the mighty army of Jabin, king of the Canaanites. This prince was become formidable to the Israelites, upon the account of the valour of Sisera his general, and the terror of nine hundred

iron chariots, which he employed in his wars. But CHAP. 1.
he was overthrown, and Sisera slain by Jael, a weak woman, to whose tent he fled for protection. Israel sin again, and draw the Midianites upon them.

Gideon, a Manassite, is then raised, who engaged A.M. 2759.
them with great success, and slew four of their princes. He punished the Israelites who refused to follow him to battle; but refused the government, offered to himself, and to be settled upon his posterity. The glory he had acquired was stained by the idolatry of the ephod, made by him, which became the destruction of his family, though he had seventy sons lawfully begotten. For

Abimelech, his bastard, slew them all, save one, A.M. 2769.
upon one stone, and seized the government for himself. He destroyed the Shechemites, by whom he was advanced; but at the siege of Thebez, a woman threw a piece of a millstone upon his head, which occasioned his death. He thought it a reproach to be slain by a woman, and therefore, to prevent the disgrace, his armourbearer thrust him through by his own command.

Tola of Issachar succeeds. His residence was at A.M. 2772.
Shamir in mount Ephraim. Nothing is recorded of this judge; but after he had managed the state for twenty-three years, he left it to

Jair, a Gileadite. He was supported in his go- A.M. 2795.
vernment by the assistance of his thirty sons, who were lords of so many cities, that were called Havoth Jair. But idolatry creeping in among them, the Gileadites were oppressed by the Ammonites; and, after an acknowledgment of their faults, they sent for

Jephtha, their banished countryman, to be their A.M. 2817.

BOOK I. leader. He, after some expostulations of unkindness, accepts the command. He sends two embassies to the Ammonites to justify the right of his cause, and to complain of the injuries they did him. They refuse to give him satisfaction; he joins battle with them, and rashly vows, that if he came off with victory, he would sacrifice the first thing he met upon his return to his house; which proved his daughter, and only child. He overcomes, performs his vow; and afterwards, being abused by the Ephraimites, he fought with them, and slew of them forty-two thousand men. His successor was

A.M. 2823. Ibzan of Bethlehem. He had thirty sons and thirty daughters, which procured him a large alliance, and was succeeded by

A.M. 2830. Elon, a Zebulonite. He administered the government, and after ten years left it to

A.M. 2840. Abdon, an Ephraimite, noted for his forty sons and thirty nephews, that rode upon threescore and ten ass colts; which proves him to have been a man of great honour and estate.

A.M. 2848. Eli the high priest succeeds, a pious man, but had wicked sons, whom he too much indulged, which occasioned their ruin, and a violent death to himself; for he broke his neck. To him succeeds his servant

A.M. 2888. Samuel, a prophet, of the tribe of Ephraim. He settled the Hebrew church and republic, much decayed by the loose conduct of his predecessor. He kept his yearly assizes in Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, beside his more particular decision of causes at home in Ramah. He is supposed to have written the books of Judges, Ruth, and a great part of the first of Samuel. His sons, Joel and Abiah, degene-

rate from the piety and virtue of the father; which provoked the people to desire a change of government, and insist in a mutinous manner, that, instead of judges, they would be ruled by a king, like the neighbouring nations; which so incensed the Almighty, that he sent them CHAP. 1.

The Kings of the Hebrews.

Saul, a Benjamite, a prince warlike and brave, but cruel and tyrannical, of a comely majestic stature, anointed by Samuel, and confirmed by all the states, in a solemn convention at Mizpeh. When he entered upon the government, he raised the siege of Jabesh Gilead, and overthrew the Ammonites. But his encroaching upon the priest's office to sacrifice, his sparing of Agag and the Ammonites, with other acts of disobedience, were so offensive to God, that he was abandoned by him, and plunged into all the miseries that attend confusion and despair. In this state of dereliction he grew jealous of his son Jonathan, persecutes David, barbarously murders Abimelech the high priest, with eighty-five persons that wore a linen ephod; and destroys Nod, the city of the priests, with all that belonged to it; consults with a witch at Endor; and last of all, kills himself on mount Gilboa, leaving his body to the Philistines, and his kingdom to A.M. 2909.

David, of the tribe of Judah, before designed and anointed to that purpose. His succession was at first disputed by the hereditary title of Ishbosheth; but he overcame that difficulty, and was confirmed by the obedience of the whole kingdom. He happily restored the state of the church, took Jerusalem, and made it the royal city of the nation. He con- A.M. 2949.

BOOK I. quered many countries, and obtained signal victories over the Philistines, Moabites, Damascenes, Edomites, Ammonites; and enlarged his dominions from Egypt to the river Euphrates, the utmost limits promised by God to the seed of Abraham, above eight hundred and eighty years before. But the sins of murder, adultery, pride, and other infirmities, obscured the glory of his reign, brought many misfortunes upon his family, and occasioned great troubles and convulsions in the state, and particularly prevented the effecting the great work, the building of the temple; yet at his death he left more treasure and vaster sums for that design, than ever were recorded in any history, either sacred or profane. The Book of Psalms, for the most part, was composed by this prince, who recovered himself by a sincere penitence, and left his kingdom to his son

A.M. 2990. Solomon, a prince the most renowned in the world both for wisdom and magnificence, who undertook and finished what his father David had designed, having the honour to be the first man in the world who erected a temple to the true God. The 150,000 persons employed in the undertaking, the 3600 general overseers, together with the seven years' building, give us a noble idea of the greatness of the work, which was so surprisingly beautiful and glorious, that it was accounted one of the greatest wonders of the world: which sacred fabric was solemnly dedicated to God, whose majesty became conspicuous in it by a cloud of glory and fire from heaven. Now was the state of the Hebrews in the height of its splendour, and so continued in the utmost peace and plenty most of this reign, which lasted forty years.

A king so wise and knowing, a court so pompous and magnificent, a people so rich and flourishing, were never known before or since that time. But the great errors and infirmities of Solomon in his latter days caused God to deprive this nation of this mighty prosperity, and to put an end to the united monarchy of Israel, which had, excepting two years, continued entire about 120 years, from the first establishment of Saul. The latter days of this prince, after so much pleasure and magnificence, were troubled with insurrections of Hadad, Rezin, and Jeroboam, which he did not live fully to suppress: but after he had written his Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and his celebrated and mystical song, he died, and was succeeded by his son CHAP. I.

Rehoboam, who in the convention at Shechem rejected the advice of the old statesmen employed by his father, and by his indiscreet roughness caused ten of the twelve tribes to revolt from him; so that the nation became divided into two distinct and independent kingdoms, one called the kingdom of Judah, and the other the kingdom of Israel; the former adhering to Rehoboam, and the latter choosing Jeroboam for their king. When Rehoboam sent Adoram his treasurer to demand tribute of the rebels, they stoned him; which so incensed the king, that he raised an army of 180,000 men to recover his right; but he was forbidden to proceed by Shemaiah, who came to him by divine commission, which he obeyed. He fell into idolatry, and allowed the Sodomites to continue in the land. These impieties provoked the divine vengeance, who brought upon him an invasion from Shishak, king of Egypt, who came and rifled the temple, and the royal trea- A.M. 3030.

BOOK I. sure; so that the king of Judah was forced to supply the golden shields of his father, which were then carried away, with the like of brass. This king left the state much impoverished, and reduced to great extremities, to his son.

Upon the division of the kingdoms, Jeroboam judged no way more effectual to secure his new acquired sovereignty, than by diverting his subjects from the temple, and the established worship at Jerusalem; therefore, out of a cursed policy, he erected two golden calves in Dan and Bethel, one in the tribe of Naphtali, and the other in Ephraim; persuading the people there to make their public adorations and sacrifices, appointing priests and other officers for that purpose; from which time the true religion began visibly to decay, and idolatry to gain ground after a notorious manner: and though God permitted the kingdom to continue under the government of nineteen several kings, all of whom were idolatrous and impious, yet he soon made it decline, and after the space of 254 years, from the death of Solomon, finally destroyed it by the hand of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, who not only ravaged the country, but carried all the ten tribes captive into his own dominions, and planted other nations in their room. So that this kingdom became a part of the great Assyrian empire; only the Moabites and Ammonites, by their industry, regained some part of their ancient dominions in the country beyond Jordan. This great alteration, and first dispersion of the Israelites, was of fatal consequence; for they never recovered their own country; and as to their state and fortunes afterwards we have no certain account.

Abijam, the son of Rehoboam, succeeded in the kingdom of Judah. He attempted the recovery of the revolted tribes, and with an army of 400,000 engaged Jeroboam, who came against him with 800,000, whom he defeated, and slew of them 500,000, because he relied upon the God of his fathers. By this remarkable victory he recovered many towns, and humbled the pride of the usurper during his life. The life of this prince was written by Iddo the prophet, which is now lost. To him succeeded his son A. M. 3046.

Asa, who reformed the state of religion, by expelling the Sodomites, and demolishing the groves and images erected by his father; yet the high places continued, which had stood since the reign of Solomon. He raised an army out of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin consisting of 580,000 men, with which he overthrew Zerah, the Ethiopian king, who brought 1,000,000 against him. He hired Benhadad of Damascus to hinder Baasha, king of Israel, from fortifying Ramah, which was done; and for a reward gave him the consecrated treasure of the temple. Towards his latter end he had violent pains in his feet, which increasing upon him, he depended upon the skill of physicians more than the relief of Heaven; and dying, was magnificently buried, leaving for his successor his son A. M. 3049.

Jehoshaphat. This prince was very circumspect in fortifying his territories; and had an army in the field, besides the forces in garrison, consisting of 1,160,000 men, under the conduct of five generals of great valour and experience. He employed him- A. M. 3092.

BOOK I. self in reforming the corrupt state of the Hebrew church, took away the high places, cut down the groves throughout the kingdom of Judah, and sent abroad preachers to instruct the people. But his entering into alliance with Ahab, the idolatrous king of Israel, had like to have cost him his life at the battle of Ramoth Gilead; for which he was boldly reproved by Jehu the seer. A mixed company of Moab, Ammon, and Seir conspired against him, but were miraculously defeated by the mutual massacreing of one another in Hazazon Tamar, as Jehaziel the Levite had foretold. This deliverance was the effect of his fasting and prayer; for which he celebrated a solemn thanksgiving in the valley of Berachah. The escape that he had when he joined his forces with Ahab did not prevent his confederating with Ahaziah, the son of that wicked king; for they united their navies in order to trade to Tarshish; but the ships were destroyed, as Eliezer the prophet had declared they would. The life of this king was written by Jehu, the son of Hanani, which is lost. He died, and leaves the crown to

A.M. 3115. Jehoram, a degenerate son from so pious a father, made worse by marrying Athaliah, the sister of Ahab, king of Israel. The beginning of his reign was stained with blood; for he entered upon the kingdom with the slaughter of his brethren and many of his nobles. He obtained a victory over the Edomites, but could not keep them in subjection, nor prevent the revolt of Libnah, one of his own cities. In his reign the Philistines and Arabians surprise Jerusalem, and carried captive his wives and all his sons, except the youngest. A dreadful disease at last seizes upon him, so that his bowels

fell out, and he died in a most loathsome manner. CHAP. 1.
He was not buried in the sepulchres of his fathers.

Ahaziah, his youngest son, succeeds, and governs A.M. 3119.
by the wicked advice of his mother. He assisted Jehoram, king of Israel, at the siege of Ramoth-Gilead, and afterwards made him a complimental visit, when he returned to be cured of his wounds. But that cost him his life by the hand of Jehu, who was raised by God for the destruction of the house of Ahab. By reason of the piety of his grandfather Jehoshaphat, he was indulged a royal interment. His mother

Athaliah usurps the kingdom. She began her A.M. 3120.
reign with the destruction of the royal race of David, to free herself from competitors; but the compassionate princess Jehosheba, the wife of Jehoiadah the high priest, conveyed her young nephew Joash, the son of Ahaziah, from her cruelty, and brought him up secretly in the temple. Athaliah governed the kingdom for seven years, but was afterwards dethroned and slain by the policy of Jehoiadah; and the right heir,

Joash, took place when he was but seven years A.M. 3126.
old. He administered the government with great prudence and justice, under the tutorage and advice of his religious uncle Jehoiadah, gave orders for the repair of the temple, and corrected many abuses that had crept into the church and state. But upon the death of the high priest, he fell into the hands of a vicious ministry, who corrupted his principles, and introduced idolatry. Zechariah, the son of Jehoiadah, remonstrated sharply against these impieties, but was barbarously stoned to death, by the king's command, in the court of the temple. This cruelty

BOOK I. and injustice was revenged by God, who brought the Syrians against him, by whom he was shamefully overthrown. He was plagued with diseases, and at last treacherously slain by his own servants, leaving his kingdom to his son

A.M. 3166. Amaziah, who executed the traitors that slew his father, but spared their children. He raised an army of 300,000 of his own subjects, and hired 100,000 auxiliaries of the king of Israel, to assist him in a war against the Edomites; but was forbidden by a prophet to take the Israelites with him, who were dismissed, and in their return home plundered the country of Judah. The king with his own forces engages the Edomites, and proves victorious. Made vain with this success, he challenges Joash, the king of Israel, to battle; who attempted to dissuade him from his purpose, but could not. Both armies engage, and Amaziah is taken prisoner, and Jerusalem plundered. These misfortunes produce no amendment in him, but he is slain in his idolatry by a conspiracy that overtook him, flying, at Lachish. He is brought back to Jerusalem, and buried with his fathers.

A.M. 3194. Uzziah his son succeeds. He proved a very valiant prince, and victorious against the Philistines and Arabians; had always in pay an army of 300,700 men, fortified Jerusalem with mathematical engines, and raised proper defences in all parts of his kingdom. He was a great sheep-master, a planter of vines, and a lover of husbandry. Elated by his prosperity, he profanely invades the priest's office, and burns incense against the divine command; but he was smitten with leprosy, and hasted out of the temple for fear of a more severe judg-

ment. He was shut up in a separate house, as the law directs, being unfit to converse with others, and consequently to manage the kingdom: therefore CHAP. I.

Jotham was settled in the government. He was a great builder, and fought with success against the Ammonites. He took warning by the example of his father, made no attempt upon the priest's office, but endeavoured to reform the corruptions of religion; yet the high places were not abolished, whereby the people continued in their idolatry. His son A. M. 3246.

Ahaz succeeded, who degenerated from the piety of his father, introduced the idolatry of the kings of Israel, and expiated his children by fire in the valley of Hinnom. He was routed by the Syrians, who carried away a multitude of his subjects to Damascus. Here he met with Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria; and from hence he sent home the model of a pagan altar, according to which another was built by Urijah the high priest, and set up in the temple, and sacrificed upon. He was defeated by Pekah, the king of Israel, whose champion, Zichri of Ephraim, slew Maassiah, the king's son, and the principal officers he had about him. At this time Israel carried away 200,000 captives, who, by means of Obed the prophet, were returned without hurt or ransom. These miseries had no effect upon this wicked prince, for he hired the king of Assyria to assist him against the Edomites, with the consecrated treasure of the temple. After an unfortunate reign he slept with his fathers, but was not allowed to be buried with them. A. M. 3262.

Hezekiah, his son, succeeds to the crown. His first care was to rectify the abuses of religion intro- A. M. 3277.

BOOK I. duced by his father, abolished idolatry, and broke in pieces the brazen serpent made by Moses, to which the people for many years had burnt incense. He invited all Israel to celebrate the passover, but they refused with scorn. Sennacherib, the Assyrian king, (whose father Shalmaneser had not long before carried the ten tribes into captivity,) besieged Jerusalem; but he was defeated in the enterprise, with the miraculous loss of 185,000 of his men. Hezekiah falls sick, and by humiliation and prayer purchased a prolongation of his life for fifteen years, which was confirmed to him by a sign of the retrogradation of the shadow in the dial of Ahaz. He was congratulated upon his recovery by Berodach Baladan, the son of the king of Babylon, by letters and rich presents; but vainly shewing to the ambassadors the wealth of his kingdom, he was reproved by the prophet Isaiah, who foretold that those treasures should be taken and removed to Babylon. This prince died, and was interred honourably, leaving his kingdom to his son

A.M. 3306. Manasseh, who wickedly revived the idolatry of his grandfather Ahaz, expiates his children in the fire, uses all kinds of witchcraft, works by familiar spirits, sets up a carved image in the temple, and made his subjects the very sink of impiety, and more abominable than the neighbouring pagans. He put to death the prophet Isaiah, for opposing him in his vices. This impious conduct threw him out of the protection of Providence, and brought the king of Babylon upon him, who carried him into captivity; an affliction that opened his eyes, and a way to his repentance. He is restored again to his kingdom, abhors his former wickedness, reforms

the state of religion, dies a sincere penitent, and leaves CHAP. 1.

Amon, his son, to succeed; who, instead of improving by the example of his father, restores idolatry, and persists incorrigibly in his wickedness. A conspiracy was formed against him by his servants, who slew him in his own house; which act, however, was so resented by the people, that the traitors soon met with deserved punishment. His successor was his son A.M. 3361.

Josiah, a pious and excellent prince. His principal care was to purge the church of the abominations of former reigns, and to repair the temple. He brought to light the book of the law, that had been lost, and celebrated a solemn passover in a more public manner than all the kings that went before him. He was fatally wounded in an unadvised expedition against Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, at the battle of Megiddo; returns, and dies at Jerusalem, and was buried with great lamentation of the prophet Jeremiah and all his subjects. He was succeeded by his son A.M. 3363.

Jehoahaz. This prince found the kingdom broken by the misfortunes of his father; and, after a reign of three months only, was deposed by Pharaoh-necho, who sent him captive into Egypt, and placed his brother Eliakim upon the throne, whom he called A.M. 3394.

Jehoiakim; who, degenerating from the virtues of his father, was in eleven years carried prisoner to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, with all the riches of the temple. His son A.M. 3395.

Jehoiachin succeeded, who had the same fate with his father; for at the end of three months he was A.M. 3405.

BOOK I. led captive towards Babylon, with his wives, his mother, and the great officers of the realm. It is thought he died upon the way, and had no better than the burial of an ass, as Jeremiah had foretold. He was succeeded by his brother

A.M. 3405. Zedekiah, who before was called Mattaniah. He rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, contrary to the advice of Jeremiah the prophet, and a solemn oath of allegiance which he had taken. Jerusalem, after a siege of two years, was plundered, the king seized, and the city defaced, and the glorious temple, after it had stood 416 years the wonder and envy of the world. He was brought to Nebuchadnezzar, who slew his sons before his face, then put out his eyes, and carried him to Babylon, where he died miserably. This was the second memorable captivity of the Israelites, beginning about 114 years after the other, though not completed till the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, when all things were left in a miserable desolation, and the inhabitants made a scorn to all nations.

After a captivity of seventy years, Cyrus the Great, king of Persia and Babylon, by means of a divine impulse, restored these two tribes to their former habitations, and gave them commission to rebuild their ancient city and temple. Which last work was immediately begun, and continued with great diligence, by Zerubbabel and others; but with so much opposition from the neighbouring inhabitants, that it was not finished till twenty years after. Now was there another alteration in the government, which was no longer regal, but rather sacerdotal, the high priest having the greatest authority; but the principal power was retained by the sanhedrim.

The sacerdotal government after the captivity. CHAP. 1.

Joshua, the son of Jozadak, returned out of captivity, (where his father had died,) and assisted Zerubbabel in the building of the temple, and the settlement of the people. A.M.3468.

Joiakim, said to be the son of Joshua; under whose administration, by the industry of Ezra and Nehemiah, the temple was finished, and divine worship restored. A.M.3521.

Eliashib succeeded, and bore the office of the high priesthood forty years. A.M.3552.

Joiada followed, and was succeeded by A.M.3593.

Jonathan, or Johanan. He slew his own brother Jesus in the temple, whom Bagoses, the chief commander for Artaxerxes the Younger, would have made high priest. The governor was so incensed at this impious act, that he broke into the temple, and laid a tax of forty drachms upon every lamb that was offered in the daily sacrifice. A.M.3633.

Jaddua. He had a brother called Manasses, who married the daughter of Sanballat, for which he was expelled the priesthood, and became the founder of the temple on mount Gerizim. This high priest met Alexander the Great in his sacred vestments, when he intended to destroy Jerusalem; which awful sight diverted him from his design. A.M.3664.

Onias, the son of Jaddua, succeeded, and administered the government one and twenty years. A.M.3684.

[About this time the two surviving tribes of Judah and Benjamin lost their ancient name of Israelites, and have ever since been called by the name of Jews.]

Simon, or Simeon the Just. The Jews tell us A.M.3704.

BOOK I.

great things of this Simon the Just, and speak of great alterations that happened on his death in some parts of their divine worship, and the signs of the divine acceptance that had till then appeared in the performance of them. The Jerusalem Talmud observes, that all the time of Simon the Just, the scape-goat had scarce fallen to the middle of the precipice of the mountain, from whence he was cast, but he was broken to pieces. But when Simon the Just was dead, he fled away alive into the desert, and was devoured by the Saracens. While Simon the Just lived, the lot of God, in the day of expiation, went forth always to the right hand; but after his death, it went forth sometimes to the right hand, and sometimes to the left. In his days the little scarlet tongue looked always white; but when he was dead, it looked sometimes white, and sometimes red. The west light always burned in his time; but after his demise, it sometimes burned, and sometimes went out. Under the priesthood of Simon the Just, the fire upon the altar burned clear and bright; and after two pieces of wood laid on in the morning, they laid on no more the whole day: but after his decease, the force of the fire languished in such a manner, that they were obliged to supply it all the day. In the time of Simon the Just, a blessing was sent upon the two loaves and the shew-bread, so that a portion came to every priest to the quantity of an olive at least; and there were some who did eat, and others had some remaining when they had eaten their fill: but when Simon the Just was dead, that blessing was withdrawn, and so little remained to each priest, that those who were modest withdrew their hands, and those who were greedy

Mishna et Gemara Hierosol. in Yoma.

still stretched them out. The explication of these particulars referred to will be found in the course of these antiquities. CHAP. I.

Eleazar was the brother of Simeon: he sent the seventy interpreters to Ptolemy Philadelphus to translate the law into Greek. A.M. 3712.

Manasseh, the brother of Eleazar. A.M. 3728.

Onias, the son of Simon the Just. By his covetousness he incurred the displeasure of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. A.M. 3753.

Simon, the son of Onias. He withstood Pompey in his attempt upon the temple. A.M. 3787.

Onias, the son of Simon. He had the character of a good man; but falling into bad times, he perished in them: he was thrust out of the priesthood in his lifetime by Jason, his brother; but after his death he was succeeded by Onias, another brother. A.M. 3808.

Onias, the brother of Jason, who was also called Menelaus. This high priest was a person of the most vicious qualities; he quarrelled with his brother, abandoned the laws and religion of his country, and called in Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria. This prince succeeded in the invasion, and entered Jerusalem, made a miserable slaughter of the inhabitants, profaned and pillaged the temple, and compelled many by tortures to eat forbidden meats, and to offer sacrifice to idols. This cruelty and desolation raised the spirit of Mattathias, a priest of the course of Jojarib, and the head of the Asmonæan family, in his old age, to contend for the support of his religion, and the deliverance of his country. But though he had good success against the Syrians, whom he routed in several engagements, A.M. 3833.

BOOK I. yet he did not live to accomplish his design, but left it to be pursued by his son

A.M.3838. Judas Maccabæus, so called from the four initial letters which he carried in his standard, which signified, *Lord, who is like unto thee among the mighty?* Exod. xv. 11. He obtained three noted victories over the Syrians, who had for their generals Apollonius, Gorgias, and Lysias. He purifies the temple, polluted by Antiochus; and, to perpetuate the memory of this act, he appointed the feast of the dedication, that was honoured with our Saviour's presence. He overcame the Idumæans, Ammonites, and others; makes a league with the Romans; defeats and kills Nicanor, the general of Demetrius, with all his army. But venturing with 800 men to engage with Bacchides, the Syrian general, who had 20,000 foot, and 2000 horse, after he had bravely routed the right wing, he was enclosed by the left, and slain.

A.M.3844. Jonathan, the brother of Judas, succeeds. He overcame the Syrian armies, under the conduct of Bacchides and Alcimus, two great generals; engaged in the interest of Alexander, the son of Antiochus, who made him high priest, in which office he was confirmed by Antiochus, the son of Alexander. After a series of many great exploits, he was treacherously murdered by Tryphon, who aspired to the crown of Syria. His brother

A.M.3861. Simon takes possession of the government. He was deceived by Tryphon of a hundred talents, which he sent by the two sons of Jonathan to redeem their father; subdued the cities of Gaza, Joppa, and Jamnia, and drove the Syrians out of Judæa; continued the league with the Lacedæmonians and Romans: and for his valour and conduct was called

the high, chief priest, governor, and prince of the Jews; but was betrayed in the height of his fortune by Ptolemy, his son-in-law, and perfidiously slain, with his two sons, Mattathias and Judas, at an entertainment at Jericho. But CHAP. I.

Johannes Hyrcanus, the third brother, escaped to succeed the father, and to revenge the parricide. He besieged Ptolemy in the castle of Dagon; but desisted at the sight of his mother's tortures, who encouraged him to continue the siege. He bravely defended Jerusalem against Antiochus Sedites, of whom he purchased his peace with a great sum of money, supplied, as Josephus relates, out of the royal sepulchre of David. He recovered many places in Syria, sacked Samaria, destroyed the temple at Gerizim, which had stood two hundred years, compelled the Idumæans to be circumcised, slew many of the wise men at Jerusalem, and died a Sadducee. The government of the Jews, after his decease, admitted of another change; for the son and successor of this prince thought fit to take the crown upon him, and was the first king over the Jews after the Babylonian captivity; the sacerdotal administration, as it is called by some, having continued, without any noted intermission, about four hundred twenty-eight years. A.M. 3870.

The Maccabæan kings of Judah.

Aristobulus admits his brother Antigonus into the government with him; but by the persuasion of his wife Salome he was soon despatched. He imprisoned his three younger brothers, and starved his own mother, upon suspicion that she affected the kingdom; for which his conscience A.M. 3898.

BOOK I. torturing him, after a year's reign he dies miserably.

A.M. 3899. Alexander Jannæus, his brother, (released by Salome out of prison,) succeeds; for which favour he marries the widow. He was a prince cruel and tyrannical; for he slew of his own subjects fifty thousand at one time, and commanded eight hundred of his principal enemies before his face. He fought with success against his foreign enemies; for he exceedingly enlarged the bounds of his kingdom, by the conquest of all Ituræa, and some parts of Syria. After a sickness of three years, with a quartan ague, he died.

A.M. 3926. Alexandra (called likewise Salome) succeeds, and wisely espousing the party of the Pharisees, as her husband advised her, continued to reign nine years. But being broken with the infirmities of old age, her eldest son

A.M. 3935. Hyrcanus (whom she before had made high priest) succeeds by right; and being a prince of weak parts, and little action, was at first disturbed in the succession by his younger brother Aristobulus; but was at last firmly established by Pompey, who carried Aristobulus and his sons Alexander and Antigonus captives to Rome. Alexander escaped from prison, and disturbed the repose of his country, till he was surprised by Gabinius, and slain by Scipio: after whose death, Antigonus, by the power of the Parthians, deprived Hyrcanus of the kingdom, and cut off his ears. But revenge soon followed this barbarity, for Antigonus was soon after slain by Antony. The unfortunate Hyrcanus remained for some time prisoner among the Parthians; but hearing of the death of Antigonus he returned home, and lived

quietly under the government of Herod, who was by that time fixed in the throne, and by whom he was at last wickedly murdered.

These disturbances, occasioned by the usurpation of Aristobulus, and the indiscretion of Hyrcanus, brought the whole country under the power of the Romans; so that Palestine became a province of the Roman empire. Yet, notwithstanding this conquest, the former laws and customs were continued, as also the sacerdotal government, which remained about twenty-two years longer in its full force, till Herod, an Idumæan prince, accidentally obtained the kingdom of Judæa from the senate of Rome, and in three years became master of the whole country, which he enlarged, and brought to a greater degree of grandeur and magnificence than ever it had been in since the reign of Solomon. Yet at the same time he depressed the priesthood, extirpated the Maccabæan family, and miserably enslaved the inhabitants. This was the first foreigner to whom the Jews became immediately subject, in whose reign the Saviour of the world was born: so that the ancient prophecy of the sceptre's departing from Judah is by the best critics supposed to begin to take place at this time, though it was not entirely completed till the last destruction of Jerusalem, and the final dissolution of the Jewish state.

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

A description of the Holy Land, with its several names and divisions, till it became a province of the Roman empire.

THE Holy Land, (the scene of the revolutions above recited,) first called the land of Canaan, and the land of Promise, lies in Asia, near the most western part of that quarter of the world; and is bounded on the east by Arabia Deserta, from which it is partly divided by mount Gilead and mount Arnon; on the west, or rather north-west, by the furthest end of the Mediterranean sea, and some of that part of Syria called Phœnicia; on the north, or north-east, by the rest of Syria, from which it is divided by Anti-Libanus and mount Hermon; and on the south and south-west by Arabia Petræa, and particularly by that part of it called Idumæa. Its situation is in a very warm climate, between 30 degrees 4 minutes and 33 degrees 2 minutes of northern latitude, and between 64 degrees 49 minutes and 68 degrees 20 minutes of longitude; being in length, from the northern parts of Galilee to the southern parts of Judæa, about 200 English miles; and in breadth, from the eastern parts of Peræa to the western parts of Samaria, about half as much, and in some places less: so that it contained a spot of land not half so large as the kingdom of England. Yet, notwithstanding the smallness of the limits, and the heat of the climate, it surpassed all countries in the world in fertility and pleasantness, being a land abounding with the most delicious fruits and choicest grains, replenished with beautiful hills and fountains, with luxurious vales and plains, and pleasant groves

and forests; filled with such numbers of rich cities and towns, and blessed with such a sweet temperature of air, that God thought fit to assign it for the habitation of his elect people, and promised it to the Father of the Faithful and his posterity. This country is divided into two unequal parts by the river Jordan, and two lakes, which are called the sea of Galilee and the Dead sea. Jordan runs almost from north to south, or rather, from north-east to south-west; but that part of the country which lies on the west or north-west side of this river is the largest and most fertile.

The first inhabitants of this land were principally descended from Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, or Cham, one of the three sons of Noah, from whom this country was called the land of Canaan; for immediately after the confusion of languages at Babel, and not much above a hundred years after the flood, Canaan, with his eleven sons, passed through Syria and Phœnicia, and took possession of almost all that part of the country on the west side of Jordan, afterwards spreading themselves partly on the other side of the river. Five of his sons were left to inhabit Phœnicia and the coasts of Syria; and from the other six, together with himself, sprang several remarkable nations, who for their sins afterwards, by divine appointment, were to be utterly extirpated; namely, the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Jebusites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, and Girgashites; of whom the three first were the most potent. The numbers of these people increasing, their families were subdivided into many inferior branches and sovereignties; so that when Joshua entered this land, he found above thirty kings

BOOK I. amongst them. Besides which, they gradually admitted several other nations to be their neighbours, and partly to mix with them; as particularly the Philistines on the western coasts, a gigantic people of the race of Misraim, the second son of Cham; the Moabites and Ammonites beyond Jordan, both descendants of Lot by his own daughters; with part of the Midianites and Edomites, descendants of Midian and Esau, both inhabiting the southern parts and borders of Arabia.

These nations daily increased in wealth and numbers, and lived surrounded with plenty and pleasures, though not free from frequent wars and contests among themselves; yet they never met with any dangerous or fatal disturbance till near eight hundred years after the first plantation of the land; when the Hebrews, under their great commander Joshua, took forcible possession of it, subdued these people, and in a few ages enslaved and destroyed all the old inhabitants.

The country being in a great measure reduced by Joshua, was divided into twelve parts, or portions, among the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob; the whole land was divided into so many equal shares as there were tribes, (a due respect being had to their number,) and the portion of every tribe was to be determined by lot; the manner of which they say was this: two urns being placed before him that drew the lots, in one of which were scrolls of parchment containing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, and in the other the portions of land; he first put his hand into the urn wherein were the names, and drew out one, suppose that of Judah; and then he put his hand into the other

urn, and drew out the portion that fell to his share. Or perhaps there was only one urn, wherein were the several portions of the land, and they began, suppose with the eldest son of Israel, Reuben, and pulling out a scroll, said, This is the portion of Reuben; and so of the rest. But which way soever they proceeded, there were two distributions made, one of the whole country into twelve parts, and another of each of those parts among the several families that were in each tribe. For this purpose Joshua numbered the families in every tribe, and according to the number of persons gave to every family a certain proportion of lands, and exactly prescribed the bounds of them. This agrarian law was appointed by Moses, before the land of Canaan was subdued; a law, whereby all the possessors were restrained from transferring their full property unto another by sale, or any sort of contract whatsoever; for those who were forced by poverty to sell their land, had a right allowed them to redeem it at any time; and they who were unable to redeem it, received it freely again at the feast of jubilee.

The northern parts of the country were given to the tribe of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar; the middle parts to that of Ephraim and the half of Manasseh; the southern parts to those of Judah, Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon; and the country beyond Jordan to those of Reuben, Gad, and the other half of Manasseh. Levi, which makes a thirteenth tribe, being selected for the special service of God, was dispersed among all the other tribes, had forty-eight cities, the tenths of all the profits of the land, with many other great advantages and privileges;

BOOK I.

and by that means was more liberally provided for than the rest of the tribes: but though they had no whole country allotted to them, as the others had, yet in the countries afterwards subdued by some kings of Israel, they had their portion assigned them with the rest of the Hebrews. Thus did the Hebrews take possession of the promised land, which had been assured to them by the word of God about four hundred and seventy years before. The Talmudists, when they speak of the Holy Land, particularly mention the solemn consecration of it: they tell us, that when Joshua took possession of the country, he solemnly consecrated all the walled cities. This they call the first entrance: but when the people were captivated by the Babylonians, and carried beyond Euphrates, the country became defiled; and therefore, after the return of the Jews, Ezra the high priest by a solemn act restored sanctity to the land; and that was the second entrance. The country was again profaned by the Roman conquest; but they vainly imagine that the Messiah, whose coming they expect, shall subdue the land, and restore it to its purity by a third consecration, which they call the third entrance. Whatever may be thought of these traditions, it is generally believed that the Holy Land retained a peculiar excellency above other countries; insomuch that the republic of the Hebrews was confined within the bounds of it; for had the people been removed out of their proper seats, and another government set up, under the discipline of the Mosaical laws, it is supposed that the country would have been esteemed impure, nor would there have been any peculiar sanctimony in the inhabitants.

Cunæus de Rep. Heb. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Under this division the Holy Land continued, till the apostasy of the ten tribes from the house of David, and then it was distinguished by the kingdom of Judah and the kingdom of Israel: the kingdom of Judah contained all the southern parts of the land, and about a fourth of the whole, being about a hundred miles in length and sixty in breadth, consisting of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and so much of Dan and Simeon as lay intermixed with Judah; its royal city being Jerusalem in the tribe of Benjamin. The kingdom of Israel included all the northern and middle parts of the land, together with the country beyond Jordan, consisting of the rest of the tribes; the royal city, during the time of this kingdom's continuance, being Samaria in the tribe of Ephraim, not much above thirty miles north-east of Jerusalem. But this distinction ceased, when Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, carried the ten tribes away captive, and planted other nations in their room.

The Holy Land falling under the dominion of the Syrian kings, received another name, and was called Palestine, from the Philistines, a powerful nation in those parts; a name first found in the history of Herodotus, but generally used in succeeding times by the Greeks and Romans. The country was then divided into these five distinct provinces, three on the west side, and two in the country beyond Jordan: 1. Galilee, the most northern province, bordering upon Syria and Phœnicia, and containing the old habitation of the four tribes of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar; being divided into the Upper and Lower, and about eighty-five miles in length, and seventy in breadth. 2. Samaria, on

BOOK I. the south of Galilee, and bordering upon the Mediterranean sea, containing the old settlement of the tribe of Ephraim, and half of Manasseh; being about seventy-five miles long, and near fifty in breadth. 3. Judæa, south, or rather south-west of Samaria, containing the territories of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with Dan and Simeon; being almost the same with the old kingdom of Judah, and about one hundred miles in length, and sixty in breadth. Beyond Jordan were, 4. Trachonitis, on the east of Galilee, bordering upon Syria, and containing the country possessed by the other half of Manasseh, being less fruitful than the rest, and about seventy miles in length, and fifty in breadth. 5. Peræa (which name was sometimes given to all that country beyond Jordan) on the south of Trachonitis, and east of Samaria and Judæa, containing the lands allotted to the two tribes of Gad and Reuben, and somewhat more; being about one hundred and ten miles in length, and near sixty in breadth. This was the division of the whole land, which continued to our Saviour's time, when another province was added by the Romans to this country, called Idumæa, which took in some of the southern parts of Judæa, and part of Arabia. Of these five provinces the Jews only possessed that called Judæa, and for a considerable space not all that, being hated and oppressed by all their neighbours; especially the powerful nations of Egypt and Syria, two great branches of the Macedonian or Grecian empire.

Compared with this, all countries under heaven were by the Jews esteemed polluted and unholy, except a part of Syria, by which they understand

the territory opposite to Mesopotamia, to the west of Euphrates, which was conquered by David, and added to the kingdom of Israel. This land was indulged some singular privileges, it being an established rule, that to purchase an estate in Syria was the same as if it lay in the suburbs of Jerusalem: it was obliged to pay tithes, and bound to observe the rights of the sabbatical year; but it was not allowed to provide the two wave loaves to be offered at the feast of Pentecost, and some other oblations, that were peculiar to the land of Israel: a spot of earth highly honoured by the care of Providence, and esteemed so sacred among the Jews in all ages, long after their dispersion, that in the time of Adrian, the Roman emperor, it was prohibited by a public decree, ratified by the senate's consent, for any Jew to come even within the sight of Judæa, lest the view of their native soil should inspire them with some desperate resolutions to endeavour their settlement there again. But, says the learned Dr. Jackson, herein he was unwittingly the angel of God, to keep this wicked race out of that paradise, the good land out of which he had driven them.

CHAP. III.

The inhabitants of the Holy Land, Canaanites, Hebrews, Samaritans, Hellenists, Proselytes, and Jews.

THE original inhabitants of the land of Canaan were the posterity of Cham, who were branched out into several petty kingdoms when the Israelites took possession of the country; neither could they be so wholly dislodged from their old settlements, but that some of them, particularly the Jebusites, continued

BOOK I. unsubdued till the time of David and Solomon, when all the territories of the Canaanites were conquered, and fell under the government of the Hebrews. The many revolutions that followed in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, introduced a mixture of several nations; and from the preceding account it will appear, that at the time of our Saviour's coming, the inhabitants of Canaan, or Palestine, were a composition of people both of foreigners and native Jews. The Jews were but a remnant of an often scattered, conquered, and captivated people, but two entire tribes of twelve, and those tributary to Herod and the Romans. The foreigners who resided in this country were principally Grecians and Romans, the former being the relics of the Macedonian empire; and the latter, magistrates, governors, and soldiers, to keep it in obedience, and to receive the tributes. The rest of the inhabitants, though of many different extracts, may principally be conceived under these two following names, Jews and Samaritans, of whom, for dispatch sake, I shall first take notice of the latter.

1. The Samaritans were principally descendants of those Assyrians whom Shalmaneser sent to inhabit the kingdom of Israel, when he carried the ten tribes captive, originally pagans, and called Cushites by the Jews, either from the name of their country, or by way of reproach. But mixing with the remainder of the tribes, and being punished with lions, and instructed by some Israelitish priests, they gradually receded from their pagan idolatries, and after the Babylonian captivity they became zealous in the worship of the true God. They were circumcised, offered sacrifices, performed the ceremonies of

the law, and expected the Messiah, who was to deliver them from all calamities, and to teach them all things. Yet they never complied with Judaism any further than to own the five books of Moses, rejecting all the rest that are in the Jewish canon; and these five books are still preserved written in the old Hebrew or Phœnician character, and were brought among them by Manasseh, and those apostate Jews that came over with him and settled in Samaria. And though they had priests and sacrifices like the Jews, yet they would not allow Jerusalem to be the place of public worship; and therefore to divert the common people from the temple of God, by the means of Sanballat, a great prince of their nation, they erected another temple of great magnificence upon mount Gerizim, near Sichem, and not far from Samaria; imitating the policy, though not the idolatry of Jeroboam, the first king of Israel after the division. This temple was built two hundred and four years after the Babylonian captivity, and three hundred thirty-two before the nativity of Christ, and proved a great weakening to the Jewish church; for all profligate wretches, malefactors, and excommunicated persons among the Jews, immediately repaired to this place, and joined with the Samaritan worship. This, with some former resentments, occasioned such violent heats between the Jews and Samaritans, though immediate neighbours, that they would have no commerce or correspondence with each other, and one continually branded the other with the most reproachful titles imaginable. About two hundred years after, the Jews growing powerful by the valour of the Maccabees, the Samaritans were subdued by John Hyr-

BOOK I. canus, who destroyed Samaria and their schismatical temple, and confined them to the little province of Samaria above described. Yet this did not extinguish their hatred and prejudices; but they still kept mount Gerizim for their place of public worship, and continued their schism till the final destruction of both nations by Titus the Roman emperor.

Because the Samaritans agreed with the Sadducees in rejecting traditions, and keeping strictly to the written word, from hence the Jews have taken occasion to calumniate them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the Sadducees, and denied with them the resurrection of the dead, which led Epiphanius and St. Gregory into the mistake of asserting this opinion; whereas the resurrection of the dead has always been a doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them, as by the Jews themselves.

The Samaritans were divided into several sects, more particularly these three: the Dositheans, the Sebuæans, and the Gortheni. 1. The Dositheans were so called from Dositheus, or Dosthui, supposed to be the first priest sent into this country by the king of Assyria: these did eat nothing that had life, like the Pythagoreans; abstained from marriage, like the Jewish Essenes; and in the point of keeping the sabbath exceeded the Pharisees, it being a law among them, that in whatsoever posture a person was found in the morning of the sabbath, he ought to continue in the same the whole day without alteration. 2. The Sebuæans, so named from Sebua, or Sebuiah, one of the associates of Dositheus, who, though they kept the same public festivals with the

Jews and other Samaritans, yet observed not the same time, transferring the passover to the month of August, the pentecost to autumn, and the feast of tabernacles to the time of the passover: for which reason they were not permitted to worship at the temple of Gerizim. 3. The Gortheni kept the same festivals, and observed the same times of those solemnities, as the law required; but, contrary to the law, they kept only one of the seven appointed days, and neglected the rest as days of ordinary labour.

2. The Jews were most properly such as inhabited the country of Judæa; but because in our Saviour's time all were called Jews who observed the law of Moses and all the prophets, we shall take notice of them in their full extent, and under these three denominations: 1. Hellenists; 2. Proselytes; and 3. Jews in a proper sense, who are often called by the name of Hebrews.

1. The Hellenists or Grecizing Jews were such as were real Jews by descent and profession; but living dispersed in almost all parts of the Roman empire, they made use of the Greek tongue, the most general language of that age, in their public offices of religion, and also the Septuagint's translation of the Old Testament; for which reason they were called Hellenists, in opposition to the other Jews, who in their worship made use of the Hebrew tongue only. They are likewise called Jews of the western dispersion, occasioned principally by the oppressions of the Egyptians and Syro-Macedonians, and were very numerous, especially in Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene. These were as superstitious in their sabbath, as tenacious of their circumcision, and of

BOOK I. other rites and ceremonies of their law, as the Jews of Palestine; for which reason they were continually despised and hated by the Romans and Grecians, and other Gentiles, among whom they resided. Yet, notwithstanding their strictness, they were not thoroughly esteemed by the Hebrew Jews, but reckoned by them as Jews of an inferior rank, upon the account of the heathen language they used, and the heathen countries they inhabited.

The proselytes were such as were Gentiles by birth and descent, but conformed themselves to the Jewish customs, and were admitted into their religion. And these were of two distinct kinds; one called *proselytes of the covenant*, and the other *proselytes of the gate*. The first were accounted as real, though but adopted Jews, bound to the same observances with them, and conversed as freely with them as if they had been so born; neither might they eat, drink, or deal with the Gentiles more than the other, lest they became unclean. They worshipped in the same court of the temple with the Hebrews, where others were prohibited entrance, and were partakers with them in all privileges, both divine and human. In short, they differed nothing from the Jews, but only that they were of Gentile race. The usual way of the Jews making these proselytes was by circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice, if they were males; and by only baptism and sacrifice, if females; for it is certain that baptism was an ancient custom among the Jews for many ages before our Saviour appeared in the world. The proselytes of the gate were such Gentiles as were admitted to the worship of the God of Israel, and the hopes of a future life, but were not circumcised,

nor yet conformed to the Mosaical rites, being only obliged to the observation of those precepts which the Hebrew doctors call the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and are recorded under these following titles: first, to renounce idols, and all idolatrous worship; secondly, to worship the true God, the Creator of heaven and earth; thirdly, to commit no murder; fourthly, not to be defiled with fornication, incest, or other impious mixtures; fifthly, to avoid all rapine, theft, and robbery; sixthly, to administer justice; lastly, not to eat the flesh with the blood in it, a precept given to Noah when he came out of the ark; that is, not to eat the flesh of any beast taken from it when it was alive; by which all cruelty was forbidden. These proselytes, though they were admitted to worship in the temple, yet, because they were uncircumcised, they were so far looked upon as Gentiles, as not to be received into the same court with the proselytes of the covenant, but were esteemed unclean, and had their particular court assigned them in their worship of God, which was called the court of the Gentiles, and of the unclean; nor were they permitted to dwell in the city of Jerusalem.

In the synagogues likewise which the Jews had in many cities and places of the Gentiles, these proselytes worshipped the God of Israel, and heard the law and the prophets expounded, but always in a distinct place by themselves. In the New Testament the proselytes of the covenant are simply called *proselytes;* the proselytes of the gate were distinguished by the name of *worshippers*, and were much more numerous in all parts of the Roman empire than the former. Their conditions were more free

BOOK I. and unconfined, and their precepts more easy and natural, than the other; and their principles fitting them for the reception of the gospel, they became the most apparent cause of the first great spreading of Christianity.

The Jews, in a more proper sense, were so called from Judah, the most powerful tribe; and had likewise the name of Hebrews, from Heber, the son of Selah, one of the ancestors of Abraham. These principally lived in that part of Palestine called Judæa; were governed by the law of Moses; and embraced the whole canon of the Old Testament, from the book of Genesis to the prophecy of Malachi. These were the persons with whom our Saviour was pleased chiefly to converse, at a remarkable time, when they were but the relics, and even the dregs, of an often broken, and then detested generation; when to be a Jew was a name of disgrace, and to be circumcised a mark of infamy; so that then they might well be called a peculiar people, not only because God separated them from all other nations, but because all other nations abhorred and avoided all friendship and correspondence with them: they were abandoned by God to the cruelty of every tyrant and conqueror, till they became a proverb, a curse, and a hissing over the face of the whole earth.

CHAP. IV.

A general view of the different forms of government among the Hebrews—patriarchal, judicial, monarchical, and sacerdotal.

ALL government being originally founded upon patriarchal power, the Hebrews, before they were

formed into a republic, were governed by the fathers of their several families: and it is certain that they, and their firstborn after them, did exercise all kind of authority both ecclesiastical and civil; they had a power by divine right to bless the family, to offer sacrifice, and to punish with death.

This may be called the infancy of government among the Hebrews, and continued till they multiplied exceedingly, and became a numerous people in the land of Egypt. In this country, so long as they enjoyed the favour of the Egyptian kings, it is supposed by the learned Bertram that they were governed by public magistrates of their own nation, who were commissioned with a legislative and executive power, but still in subserviency to the established laws and customs of the country in which they lived. When the Hebrews fell into disgrace, and were oppressed with servitude, they had task-masters and Egyptian prefects set over them, who harassed them, and made them slaves, till they were freed from this bondage by the conduct of Moses, who led them into liberty, and fixed them under a more regular dispensation.

De Rep. Hebr. cap. 4.

The right of primogeniture now ceased; and as Aaron and his posterity were invested with the title of priests, so Moses introduced a new form of civil government, and ruled with a sort of monarchical authority, and is expressly called *a king*. For the first year after the Hebrews came out of Egypt, Moses sustained the whole weight of the administration by himself, and delivered justice to the people; but by the advice of Jethro, his father-in-law, he deputed some part of his power; and to ease himself of some of the burden, he constituted infe-

BOOK I.

rior judicatories, which were greater or lesser, according to the division of their several tribes into thousands, hundreds, fifties, or tens; and appointed a competent number of persons, who were presented to him by the people, to preside in these greater or lesser courts. There were four orders of these rulers, as they are called; but whether there was a subordination of the lower order to the higher is hard to determine. Their business was to sit every day, some or other of them, in their several districts, and to hear all sorts of causes, which, if they were able, they were to decide; but if the matter was intricate, and hard to determine, they were to represent the case to Moses, who was to pronounce a final sentence upon it. Besides the authority committed to these rulers, there was some power retained by the heads of the tribes, and the chief fathers of the families. The first of these were the principal governors of every tribe, descended in a direct line from the patriarch who was the founder of the tribe, and were a sort of nobles in the Hebrew republic, and the great counsellors in the state. They had twelve seats fixed for them, where they administered justice, and took care of the concerns of the several tribes: they had some share in the civil government; for when Joshua swore that he would not destroy the Gibeonites, the league was ratified by a solemn oath taken by the princes of the tribes, called *the princes of the congregation.* The chief fathers of families were the eldest of every family; for as the Hebrew people were divided into twelve tribes, so the several tribes were divided into families, and those had every one a patriarch, or chief: they had power to convene their several families, to preside

in their assemblies, to lead them out to war, and to decide causes of a less moment in courts of justice.

Nor was the people without some small show of power in the Hebrew republic: they were often convened by sound of two silver trumpets, and assembled by the command of the supreme magistrate, whether judge or king, and admitted into consultation, and to hear debates in matters ecclesiastical and civil; and testified their consent by holding up their hands, and loud acclamations. Bertram contends, that the commons in the Jewish state were invested with a great share of power; and says, it was a mixed government, like ours, consisting of the king, the nobility, and the people; but there are good arguments against this opinion, which is generally exploded by learned men. The form of government, notwithstanding this deputation of power, continued monarchical, and was lodged in Moses, who was supreme under God in all causes sacred and civil.

De Rep. Hebr. cap. 12.

But the assistance of these lower judicatories could not make the administration so easy to Moses, but that he was forced to supplicate God for more help; for the people were so litigious, and given to mutiny, that he was unable to dispatch all the appeals made to him; and therefore he had seventy elders appointed him as coadjutors, who heard and absolutely determined causes of the greatest moment, and were invested almost with an equality of power with Moses himself; otherwise they would have been of small service to him, under the pressure of the public cares, unless their decisions had been final, and beyond the reach of an appeal. This college of seventy were elected by lot, and are supposed to

BOOK 1. have been chosen out of the lesser courts, that were erected by the advice of Jethro. They were indued with a prophetic spirit upon their ordination, the better to answer the ends of government, and to establish their authority among the people: but this divine gift, it is thought, attended them no longer than the first day of their institution; nor was it ever bestowed upon their successors, when they became a standing court, to judge the last result of all causes concerning the law, and to settle all matters of right that could not be determined by the letter of it. The government now received a small change, and admitted a kind of aristocracy, retaining still the greatest share of monarchical power.

This form continued during the administration of the judges, whose authority was perhaps more properly that of a general of an army, than the governor of a nation: they were absolute and independent, invested with the highest authority, being equal to kings, but without the royal state or equipage: they sat in judgment, and determined causes, but those of the greatest moment; for though the judiciary courts were ordinarily the supreme judges of controversies, yet the judge, when God raised one up, was indued with an extraordinary power above theirs, to whom the people therefore applied for his decision; for as all ordinary magistrates among the Romans gave way to a dictator, when they had one, so all the Hebrew magistrates did to such a judge, when God appointed him, who determined all manner of controversies that were brought before him, as at other times the other judges, whether priests or others, were used to do. They were commonly elected by the voice of the people, who never chose

a judge but in great troubles and imminent dangers; which being overcome, they, like the Roman dictators, retired to a private life. This office was not hereditary, but conferred upon the person who was most accomplished, and best able to answer the exigencies of the state. There was no solemnity of inauguration when a judge was elected; he was allowed no ensigns of sovereignty, he was neither anointed nor crowned; nor did one of them assume a royal diadem, except Abimelech, who was complimented with the title of a king among the Shechemites.

The Hebrews at length grew weary of this kind of government, and in a mutinous manner demanded a king. God complied with their humours, and so a monarchy was introduced, but exceedingly mild and temperate, if the prince ruled by the established laws. This form expired when the king and kingdom were subdued, and the inhabitants carried to Babylon, after it had stood about five hundred years.

Upon the return of the Jews from their captivity, the government was no longer regal, but rather sacerdotal, the high priest having the greatest authority; but the greatest power was retained by the sanhedrim, or great council of the nation. The sacerdotal form continued, without any noted intermission, about the space of four hundred and twenty years.

The regal government was again introduced by Aristobulus, one of the successors of the Maccabees, and remained free and independent not above forty-six years; at which time Pompey the Great, general of the Romans, coming down like a torrent upon the east, subdued the country, and Palestine became a province of the Roman empire.

BOOK I.

CHAP. V.

The monarchy of the Hebrews; the inauguration of their kings; the form of anointing, proclaiming, and crowning; the royal guards, Cerethites and Pelethites; the ensigns of majesty, officers of state, and the extent of regal power in things civil and sacred.

WHEN the Hebrews had obtained possession of the land of Canaan, they resolved to change the form of government, which was a kind of aristocracy, or rather a theocracy, as the fathers call it, and mutinously cried out to Samuel, who was then the supreme judge under God, to constitute a king over them, who should fight their battles, and live in the same pomp and splendour with the eastern kings. They durst not presume to set up a king themselves; for none had power to make a king but God, who was their Sovereign. The prophet, with great regret, complied with their demand; but God resented the indignity offered to himself by this revolution: and though he foresaw, when they were in the wilderness, that they would grow weary of his government, and throw off his yoke, and therefore he gave some directions concerning the future monarchy, yet it was absolutely against his approbation that the government should be changed; and, as a testimony of his anger, the first king he appointed over them was a cruel and haughty prince; and it is the general opinion of the rabbis, that monarchy was the ruin of the Hebrew state. It was not the divine will, says one of them, that any other king should be in Israel but himself; for the Most Highest was their king, who walketh in the midst of their camps, and providently attends to the

R. Bechai ad Parsch. Schoph. col. 6.

most minute circumstances of their affairs. Nor did they stand in need of any other king; for what should the chosen people, whose king was the Lord of the universe, do with a king who was merely flesh and blood? It is written, *I gave thee a king in mine anger*, which was Saul, the first king, *and took him away in my wrath*, who was Zedekiah, the last, that was taken away by Nebuchadnezzar in the Babylonish captivity. But some Jews are of opinion, that it was an express command that the Hebrews should erect a regal government when they came into Canaan, and were quietly possessed of it: and accordingly they have presumed to make this an affirmative precept, *That a king of the people should be chosen*, to which some learned men among Christians seem to incline. But this is expressly opposed by Josephus, who observes, that God intended that they should retain their present form. "They ought not," says he, "to affect any other "government, but love the present, having the laws "for their master, and living according to them; "for it is sufficient that God is their Ruler: but if "they desire to have a king, let him be one of their "own nation."

Hos. xiii. 11.

Lib. I. Antiq. cap. 8.

This new erected monarchy was absolute, and unrestrained by human laws, and the king had the same extent of power with the other princes of the east; for it was the desire of the Hebrews to be governed as their neighbours were, who were subject to the uncontrolled dominion of their kings. The Talmudists, indeed, would have it believed, that the regal power was in many instances subservient to the jurisdiction of the sanhedrim: but this is a mere invention of the Jewish doctors, to mag-

BOOK I.

nify the authority of their great council; for as Samuel consulted with no person in making a king, but God alone; so, when he was made, he obtained such a power, that it was impossible for the high court to control him. It is evident that the Hebrew kings exercised the very power which is ascribed to the college of seventy; particularly, it is notorious that Solomon deprived Abiathar, which, as the Talmudists say, is a judgment belonging only to the sanhedrim, and filled up the vacancy in the priesthood. Nor are we to give credit to those rabbies, who relate that a king was always constituted by a majority of the seventy; for the first king was appointed by God himself, who at length intended that the kingdom should be hereditary, and descend by successive right in that family which he was pleased to choose, so long as they continued in a constant observation of his laws.

Before the Israelites were possessed of the promised land, God laid down some injunctions concerning the future monarchy, which the people and the kings were to observe as fundamental and established rules of government. It seems necessary first to explain these precepts, and then to proceed regularly, by inquiring into the several ceremonies, powers, and privileges, and other particulars relating to the government of the Hebrew kings.

Deut. xvii. 15, &c.

The first command was, *One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee.* He was, as some understand the precept, to be an Israelite by father and mother; though others think it sufficient if the king was an Israelite by the mother's side, which was a qualification for any dignity, but only the priesthood. All females were excluded from the

succession, as Maimonides concludes from the words of the law, which speak of a king only; nor was any person of mean extraction, or of a mechanical employment, admitted to government, such being generally of a sordid and mercenary disposition, and unable to support the dignity of majesty among the people. CHAP. V. Hal. Melach. c. i. v. 6.

He shall not multiply horses. There is no certain number determined; but the Jews well resolve that he was not to keep them for pomp and grandeur, or for the purposes of war, lest the people should be burdened with taxes for the support of them: he was allowed no more than were for use and service, to draw his chariot, for instance, and for the guard of his person. Among the Hebrews their armies consisted altogether of footmen, there being no breed of horses in that country; and their people, who were all husbandmen and shepherds, were accustomed to labour, and to run with great swiftness. It is certain, that in the days of David they had no horsemen in their army; for when Absalom lost the battle, and fled, he rode upon a mule, and endeavoured to make his escape. And though Solomon was so prodigiously rich, that he was able to maintain forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, yet succeeding kings were unable to answer such expense; but when they had occasion, they sent for succours to Egypt. For which reason the next precept was,

Nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses. The king was forbidden to send his subjects thither to buy horses for him, it being a country which abounded with them, as Judæa did with asses. He might have had

BOOK I. horses from other adjacent places, but not so conveniently; nor were they of so good a breed, or so fit for service, which made Solomon send thither; and Pharaoh set a great price upon them, because he knew their value, and that the king could not so easily furnish himself with them from other countries. This command, concerning a return into Egypt, is supposed by some Jews to be no more than a temporary constitution, which was at length to be out of force: others distinguish about the way of returning thither, conceiving that they might not go into that country out of the land of Israel, but they might out of any other part of the world whither they were driven. Maimonides thinks that they might correspond and trade thither in the capacity of merchants, but were not allowed to abide or settle there. But the true meaning seems to be, that they were forbidden to go thither voluntarily upon any account, lest, while the Egyptians were so corrupt in their religion and manners, they should be seduced into profaneness, and the forbidden worship of strange gods.

Neither shall he multiply wives to himself. This is not a prohibition to take more wives than one, but not to have an excessive number, after the manner of the eastern kings. The Jews suppose that he was allowed eighteen; but the proof they give is very weak and inconclusive, which is, that David having already six wives, the prophet tells him, that if he had not offended God, he would moreover have given him *such* and *such* things; that is, say they, twice as many wives. Much less is there any ground for what they urge, that if he took more than this number, he was to be scourged by the authority of

2 Sam. v. 13.

the sanhedrim; for there is no example in the whole scriptures of any such jurisdiction which the great council exercised over the persons of the Hebrew kings. CHAP. V.

Nor shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. No more, says the sanhedrim, than would pay stipends to his servants, and answer the moderate exigencies of his court. He was allowed to lay up money in the treasury at the temple for the occasions of the state, but was forbidden to fill his own coffers for his private interest, lest he should squeeze his subjects, and exact more of them than they were able to bear.

When he sitteth on the throne of the kingdom, he shall write him a copy of this law in a book. He was obliged to write the whole Mosaical law with his own hand, to fix it the more deeply in his mind; so that though a copy was left him by his father, he was, notwithstanding, to transcribe one himself; but whether he was bound, if he had not written a copy before he was king, (as the rabbies say every private Israelite was bound to do,) to write two when he sat on the throne, may be doubted. He was not to write one word of it out of his memory merely, or any private man's copy, but out of the book which was in the sanctuary, where the original and uncorrupted copy was preserved. This book the king was obliged to carry with him wherever he went, and to study and meditate upon the contents of it. From the neglect of this precept, the Hebrew kings became so ignorant of the divine laws, and of their obligation to observe them, that in the days of the good king Josiah, he was strangely surprised at what he heard read out of this book of the law, when it

Gemar. Sanhed. cap. ii. sect. 13.

BOOK I. was found in the temple, where it had long lain without any knowledge of it.

The Hebrew kings were not only bound to transcribe the book of the law for their own use, but they were obliged, upon the first holyday in the feast of the tabernacles, to read the law themselves to as many as could conveniently hear them; appointing the priests and the Levites to read it in as many other assemblies of the people as were necessary for the fulfilling of this precept. In order to which a pulpit of wood was erected upon the first day of the feast; and the king going up into it, the minister took the book of the law, and delivered it (in latter times) to the ruler of the synagogue, who gave it to the sagan, or vicar of the high priest, who delivered it to the high priest, and he to the king, who stood up to receive it. And these ceremonies were used to express the reverence with which this holy book was delivered, and likewise the regard with which they approached the king. The king, if he pleased, might sit down to read; but it was esteemed more honourable if he stood, as king Agrippa did when he performed this office. Before he attempted to read, he made a prayer to God, and beginning the book of Deuteronomy, (which is a compendium of the law,) he proceeded, before he stopped, to those words, chap. vi. 4, *Hear, O Israel*, &c.; which having also read, he omitted the rest, till he came to chap. xi. 13, *And it shall come to pass, if thou wilt hearken diligently*, &c., reading on to the 22d verse; and then passed to chap. xiv. 22, And *thou shalt truly tithe*, &c., reading on to the section concerning the king, chap. xvii. 14; and then the cursings and blessings out of the 27th and

28th chapters, till he had ended all that section of the law. The Talmud relates of king Agrippa, that when he was upon this service, and came to read that passage, *One from among thy brethren thou shalt set king over thee*, his eyes overflowed with tears, because he was not of the seed of the Jews; but the people comforted him, and cried out three times, "Fear not, Agrippa, thou art our brother."

This office is called *the reading of the king;* and it is reckoned by the Jews to be one of those eight things that must indispensably be delivered in the Hebrew tongue. The ceremony was performed in the court of the men of Israel, if the king were of the family of David; but if he were not, then in the court of the women. All the women in Jerusalem were bound to attend this solemnity, with the children who were capable of instruction; nor were the proselytes to the Jewish religion excluded, not the proselytes of the gate, if they thought fit to come to their assemblies. In compliance with this precept, we find that Joshua, the supreme governor after the death of Moses, did read all the words of the law, not omitting a word that Moses commanded, before all the congregation, with women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them. These precepts being delivered before monarchy was established among the Hebrews, it was thought necessary, for the sake of order, to explain the design of them; and having thus opened the way, it will be the more easy to reduce into method the several ceremonies, customs, prerogatives, and other particulars that belong to the sovereignty, and were in use under the regal government of that nation.

The monarchy of the Hebrews was not at first

BOOK I. hereditary; for as God, the supreme lawgiver, was pleased to appoint several of the kings, so some of them reserved to themselves a power to nominate a successor, as appears particularly by the history of Rehoboam, who, though a prince of no great command, yet took upon him this authority, and fixed one of his youngest sons in the throne after him. This custom, however, did not long prevail; for the crown in a short time became hereditary, after the example of the eastern kingdoms. But by whatever means they obtained the empire, the first rite of inauguration, that passed upon the Hebrew kings, was the ceremony of anointing; a custom not supported by divine authority, but very ancient, and what likewise prevailed in many other nations. It is a maxim among the Jews, that a king must be anointed in the open air, near a fountain; though they seem to have no authority for it, but from the story of Solomon, who was brought to Gihon, which was a fountain or brook near Jerusalem, where there appeared a great concourse of people to attend the solemnity. There is another reason given for this practice in the Talmud, that it might be a signification and good omen of the perpetuity of the kingdom, which should continue like a fountain, which runs perpetually. But from the anointing of Solomon we cannot make a general conclusion that all the Hebrew kings were anointed at fountains; for Saul, the first king, was not; and in the history of David, who was anointed three times, there is no mention of it. This ceremony (if we believe the Jews) was always performed by a prophet; and there are many instances in scripture of this practice; but it is difficult to prove it of universal use: it seems

rather as if a priest had power sufficient to anoint a king, whose title was clear and undisputed; but when a person was immediately designed for sovereignty by God, the ceremony was always executed by a prophet. Nor does it appear that the anointing oil was always the sacred oil taken from the tabernacle, but rather common; for Samuel was no priest, and therefore had no authority to use that which was kept there. The Hebrew doctors believe that the family of David had the privilege to be anointed with the same holy oil with which the high priest was anointed; for though the law appropriated it unto him, yet there was a dispensation allowed, which, they say, was revealed by some prophet. It is certain that Solomon was anointed with oil taken from the tabernacle; only they conceive a difference in the form of anointing, the king being anointed in the form of a crown encircling his head, in token that he was the head of the people, and had the supreme power committed to him; but the high priest in the form of a cross, by one line drawn with the oil running down his forehead, and by another drawn by the oil between his eyebrows. But whatever was the form, it is supposed that the ceremony itself was not of absolute necessity. It was proper to anoint the first of the family that was advanced to the kingdom, but not any of his children that succeeded him, unless upon occasion of a dispute by a contrary faction about the point of succession; for had it not been for the pretensions of Adonijah, there had been no need of Solomon's unction. For the same reason was Jehu anointed, because the succession to the kingdom of Israel was to be translated out of the right line of the family

BOOK I. of Ahab unto another family, which had no right but only by divine appointment. This rite of anointing, as Cunæus observes, added a divine majesty to the kings, and made them sacred and allied unto God. The chrismatory, wherein this oil was kept, was a vial, or vessel, made with horn, or of some richer metal after that figure.

De Rep. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 14.

After the ceremony of anointing, it is recorded that Samuel kissed Saul, in token of subjection and reverence. This the Jews call *the kiss of greatness*, or majesty; and in our language is styled *the kiss of homage:* but whether this custom prevailed in succeeding times is not to be proved.

Then was the king proclaimed by a herald by sound of trumpet, and conducted back into the city, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the guards and the people, who clapped their hands in token of joy; and playing upon musical instruments, cried, *God save the king!* He was, on his return, put in actual possession of the kingdom, by being placed upon a throne, where no one but the king dared presume to sit, upon pain of death. But if a king were proclaimed, another being in possession of the throne, the guards of the new monarch, to supply the want, would place him upon an eminence, that he might appear higher than the rest of the people. Thus was Jehu acknowledged to be sovereign by his captains, who made a kind of throne for him, by spreading their clothes under his feet, and raising him above the company about him.

The royal diadem was then placed upon his head, (which, I suppose, was kept in the sanctuary,) and the book of the law was put into his hand: then, as some learned men imagine, he entered into a cove-

nant with God, to observe and keep his commands; and into a contract with the people, to govern with justice, and not to violate their privileges. And on these conditions the people took an oath of allegiance, and promised faithful submission. This ceremony was concluded with many sacrifices, and a splendid feast, where the nobles and the principal officers were entertained with great state and magnificence: and that no sorrow might appear in a time of universal joy, all public executions were suspended, and no malefactor was to be put to death.

The Hebrew kings, in imitation of the eastern monarchs, were constantly attended by a select number of body guards, who in scripture are called Cerethites and Pelethites. These were the constant defenders of the royal person, (like the Prætorian bands among the Romans,) and called *keepers of the body* by Josephus; who never departed from the place where the king was. They had a peculiar commander over them, were men of comely, robust bodies, and of approved fidelity. It is probable that they were selected out of a particular nation or family; for the Cerethites inhabited a part of Palestine, and were indeed the same with the Philistines: the Pelethites, it is supposed, were a family in Israel; for we find two of the name of Peleth mentioned in scripture, one of the tribe of Reuben, another of Judah. Their arms were bows and arrows, and slings, if we may believe the Chaldee interpreter, who calls them archers and slingers. The number of them may be conjectured from the targets and shields of gold that Solomon made, which were five hundred, and were for the use of his guard. They were properly the king's domestics, and lay in a

BOOK I. guard-chamber at the entrance of the palace, to be ready at the least notice, and on the most sudden occasions. Besides these, there was a horse-guard to attend the king when he went abroad, consisting of the flower of the Hebrew youth, of tall and well proportioned bodies, with long hair waving in the wind, which, in the days of Solomon, was powdered every day with gold dust, and sparkled surprisingly when the sun's rays shone upon it.

Joseph. lib. viii. cap. 2.

The distinctions of majesty were a robe of state of the most costly Tyrian purple, that was always worn on public solemnities, a crown of gold set round with precious stones, and a sceptre of the same metal.

The royal throne, erected by Solomon, was a most noble ensign of majesty. The canopy of it made a half circle over his head: it was advanced to a just height by six steps, with rests on either side to lean the arms upon; which stays had two lions for their supporters. Upon every step a lion stood reared up on each side, as if he was falling upon his prey. The throne was made of ivory, which was never heard of in Jerusalem till the time of Solomon, who perhaps brought elephants out of India, and took care to have abundance of ivory sent with them. The whole was overlaid with gold, not entirely so as to cover the ivory, (for then it might as well have been made of wood,) but studded with it at proper distances; which made the throne, by such a mixture, appear more glorious and magnificent. Here the king sat when he gave audience to ambassadors, and administered public justice to his people. There was another kind of throne erected, of inferior workmanship, called *the covert for the sabbath.* It was a covered place, where the king sat, in the

2 Kings xvi. 18.

porch of the temple, or at the entrance of it, upon the sabbath, or other great solemnities, which were called by that name. This was taken away by Ahaz, to express his hatred and contempt of the sabbath, and to promote idolatrous worship among his subjects. "The king only, and no man else," says Maimonides, "might sit in the court of the "temple in any place; but this privilege was con- "fined only to a king that was of the family of "David." Cunæus's comment upon these words are; "That court was divided by certain spaces, "one part for the priests, another assigned for the "people; yet the priests could not sit down, though "within their own prescribed bounds. The senators "of the sanhedrim had right to sit, but only in the "midst of that place where the profane commonalty "were. Never did the more sacred spaces of the "court behold any man sitting but the king, this "being his prerogative, as if he were nearer to God "than the priests themselves, and a greater presi- "dent of religion."

Cap. 2. in Hal. Mel. &c. 7 Hal. Beth.Habb.

De Rep. lib. i. cap. 14.

It was observed before, that the power of the Hebrew kings was absolute, and unlimited by human laws; yet in the general he was obliged to comply with the Mosaic rites in common with the meanest of his subjects. This unrestrained authority was not to degenerate into tyranny, or to the oppression of his people; but he was bound to consult their ease and safety, and to promote their happiness; for, as a great rabbi remarks, as the scriptures have provided that the king should be regarded with great honour, obliging all to pay him reverence, so it commands him to be lowly in heart, and not to carry himself insolently. Let him be gracious and

BOOK I. full of clemency to little and great, so shall he go out and come in with the love and good wishes of them all. He had no right to change the laws on pretence of making better, nor to abrogate them on pretence of inconveniency; but where the divine law was not clear, or where nothing was there defined, he might, by his own authority, make new constitutions, as well in sacred matters as in civil. The power of life and death was lodged in his hands: he could make peace, or declare war; though the Jews say, that he could not enter upon a war, unless upon absolute necessity, without the consent of the sanhedrim. He could press soldiers for the service, when the public good or his own grandeur required: and to maintain his royal expenses, he could demand contributions, when the state was distressed, impose customs, and, when the tithes and other oblations were paid, he could exact the tenth of what remained of all his subjects. The public revenue was at his disposal; and when the treasury was deficient, and could not answer the exigencies of the state, he could alienate the ornaments of gold and silver that belonged to divine worship, concluding that the safety of the public was the supreme law. But when a prince was driven by necessity to make use of things sacred, they were usually restored or made good out of the spoils of war, or as soon as his abilities would otherwise permit. But, notwithstanding this extent of power, he had no authority over the lands of his people: he could not give away any part of Palestine to another prince, nor seize upon the private estates of his subjects; for the law of Moses prohibited the alienation of lands from one tribe or family to another, unless a man was re-

duced to poverty, in which case he might sell it till the jubilee, then it was to return to him; but ground belonging to the royal palace was never to be recovered. Indeed, when a man was executed for treason, his estate fell to the king, against whom the crime was committed; though some men of learning imagine that the king took possession only for want of heirs to inherit, the children of the malefactor being condemned with him. The privileges of the Hebrew kings are thus briefly collected by the learned Reland. "He does not judge, nor is he "judged; he does not give testimony, nor is testi- "mony given concerning him; he does not deliver "his shoe, nor do others do it upon the account of "his wife; he is not bound by the law that relates "to a brother's wife, nor is his wife obliged. No "private person shall marry his widow. If a neigh- "bour dies, he does not go out of his palace; he lies "upon his couch at a funeral feast, but the people "upon the ground; he makes war by the advice of "the sanhedrim; he opens a way where he pleases "when he is upon a journey, and makes the road "as broad as he will. The spoils of war are laid "before him; he chooses first, and may take half if "he thinks fit. He may not have above eighteen "wives; he must not breed many horses, nor mul- "tiply to himself silver or gold; he is to write the "book of the law, and carry it with him to war, "and read it at home, and have it about him in the "place of judgment and at table. No one must "ride upon his horse, nor sit upon his throne, nor "handle his sceptre, nor see him naked, nor when "he is shaved, nor when he is washed."

Antiq. Sac. Vet. Heb. par. ii. cap. 8.

The better to support the regal dignity, the He-

BOOK I.

brew princes appointed officers of state, which they used as counsellors, and to ease them of the cares of government. The principal of these was a viceroy, who was next to the king, and usually determined all matters that were to be decided by the civil statutes of the realm. Solomon appointed three secretaries of state, who had each of them their several employments: one was concerned in matters of judgment; the business of the second was to regulate the revenue; and the third was a public registrar, whose office was to write annals, and to preserve and digest the records of the kingdom. He had a master of requests, to hear all causes, and to represent them to him. There was a generalissimo of all the forces, who sometimes was anointed with the holy oil, that he might be inspired with courage, by considering that he fought as a sacred person; a lord high chamberlain, who admitted and displaced officers in the family; and a minister of state, who was emphatically called *the king's friend*, who was a privy-counsellor, and intrusted with the management of all secret affairs. A person was placed over the tribute that was imposed upon the people for the support of the government; and it is supposed that he had the care of levying men, as well as money. The country of Palestine being divided into twelve parts, there were so many persons constituted to buy provisions for the king and his family at the best hand, and every thing in its proper season. The provision was sent to the place where the king resided by every one in his month. By this means there was great plenty for all that belonged to the court, for the stable of horses and domestics, and for all foreigners that came there about business,

2 Chron. xix. 11.

1 Kings iv. 2, 3, 4, &c.

who were entertained without any grievance to the people. Over these twelve officers was one appointed, who was their overseer, and examined their accounts. There were many other officers of an inferior order, that are to be found in the courts almost of all princes, and therefore will not be mentioned in this place.

Nor was the civil jurisdiction of the Hebrew monarchs less supreme and absolute in matters of religion; but they had no right to invade or exercise the spiritual powers and offices of the priesthood. "It was a statute," says Maimonides, "that the "chief priest should reverence the king, and yield "him his place to sit in, and himself stand when "the king came to him. The king standeth not in "the presence of the priest, unless when he consults "the Urim after the most solemn manner." And such is the dignity of the king, that even the prophet himself, as oft as he comes into his presence, bows himself down to the earth, as it is written, *Nathan the prophet came before the king, and to honour him fell upon his face to the ground.*

In Halucha Melachim, cap. 2.

CHAP. VI.

The civil consistories among the Hebrews. The institution of the great sanhedrim; their authority and jurisdiction; with an account of the lower courts of judicature.

THE first institution of magistracy in the Hebrew republic was derived from Moses, who, to relieve himself under the cares of government when he was in the wilderness, appointed a certain number of select men, whom he called *rulers*, and commissioned to hear all causes; and if any were too difficult for

BOOK I.

them to determine, they were to be referred to his own absolute decision. These judges constituted greater and lesser judicatories, according to the division of the several tribes into thousands of families, hundreds, fifties, and tens; and a fixed number of them were appointed to be judges in those lesser or greater courts. The qualifications for this office, as Maimonides observes, were wisdom, humility, the fear of God, contempt of riches, love of truth, a good fame, and to be beloved of others: and there is reason to believe that greater abilities were required in the rulers over thousands than in those over tens; as in the great sanhedrim afterwards, the Jews make more accomplishments necessary to qualify men for a place in it than were requisite for those in lower courts. As the quality of their persons and their endowments made these judges considerable, so they were dignified with the honourable name of *elders*, which had been a long time a title of honour among the Jews and other nations. They had power to judge, not only between one Israelite and another, but between an Israelite and a proselyte, whether he were received into the covenant by circumcision or not; for of this latter sort there were no doubt a great number among the mixed multitude that came out of Egypt; and while they were in the wilderness, there were no distinct judicatories for Israelites and proselytes, but their causes were heard in the same courts. There were always attending upon these judges a sort of sergeants, or executioners, (called in scripture *officers among the tribes*,) who, according to the sentence, inflicted penalties upon malefactors. They carried, says Maimonides, rods and whips, and they stood before the judges; they

Halach. Sanh. cap. iv. sect. 7.

Deut. i. 15.

Maim. in Sanhed. Per. 1.

went about the streets and inns, to inspect into measures and weights, and to punish every offender they met with. Whatever they did was ordered by the judges; and whomsoever they saw offending, they brought him to the judges, and they judged him according to his offence.

But this ruling magistracy was not by divine appointment, it was merely of human institution; nor was it to continue (as our learned Thorndike notes) any longer than the pilgrimage in the wilderness. For notwithstanding those judges decided causes of small moment, and in some measure eased Moses of the weight, yet so many appeals were lodged against their decisions, and so many difficult cases arose which they could not determine, that Moses by divine command erected a college of seventy, whose decisions should be final, and whose abilities were sufficient to determine the hardest matters. They were to be a standing court, to judge the last result of all causes concerning the law, and to decide all matter of right and property, that could not be determined by the letter of it. It is supposed that this council (by way of excellency called *the sanhedrim*) were chosen out of the lesser courts erected in the wilderness, and consisted of seventy, besides Moses, (who was the president,) because this was the number of persons that came with Jacob into Egypt, and, says a rabbi, were a prototype of this number in future ages. The qualifications necessary for admission into this great judicatory were, wisdom, understanding, integrity, courage, the fear of God, love of truth, hatred of covetousness, and impartiality in judgment. The members were to be devout and religious; to be competently learned both

Rights of the Church, chap. 2.

BOOK I. in arts and languages; to be versed in physic, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology; and to understand what belonged to magic, sorcery, and idolatry, that they might be qualified to know and to judge of them. They were to be well descended, without deformity or blemish of body; men of years, but not of extreme age, lest they should be peevish and severe in judgment; they must be fathers of children, to inspire them with sentiments of humanity, tenderness, and compassion. And that there might be a sufficient supply of able men to succeed in the room of judges that died, there were young men of noble families instructed, whom they called *the scholars of the wise men:* out of these they made their election. At the first institution of this college by Moses, the seventy were assisted with divine gifts of wisdom, judgment, and courage; but when that generation was expired, their successors were qualified for that office by education only, and acquired learning.

This judicatory consisted of priests of the tribe of Aaron, of Levites of the tribe of Levi, and of Israelites that were laymen; or, as they are called in the New Testament, *priests, scribes,* and *elders:* but if priests and Levites that were fitly qualified were not to be found, the council might lawfully consist of men out of other tribes. The high priest, if he were a person of great abilities, was chosen into the number; otherwise it was usual to lay him aside: for he was not admitted into the senate by any right of his own, but by suffrages; nor were strangers and foreigners received into this order, unless the mother at least was of Jewish descent. These judges were very profoundly learned in the Mosaic law,

and were generally most acute, diligent, and curious searchers of the scripture; and notwithstanding they assumed to themselves more knowledge than they really had, and thought that the mere outward study of the law would save them, yet their diligence and inquiries were real and constant to admiration, and, for their indefatigable labours, they were called *the very foundations of the law, and pillars of instruction.* But the method made use of by these several orders to display their learning, and to communicate their knowledge, was various. The elders judged the people in matters of debate and controversy, but never instructed them by preaching. The priests judged and instructed; but it was more by resolving questions, than by common preaching, or sermons. The scribes were preachers or lecturers, that taught the people from the pulpit, as well as determined upon doubts and controversies. When these judges went abroad, they rode upon white asses, by way of eminence and distinction; for there were no horses in Judæa, but what were brought out of other countries: and the asses that were there were commonly of a red colour; and therefore white asses were highly valued, and used by persons of superior note and quality.

It has been before observed, that this supreme court consisted originally of seventy, besides Moses; and therefore after his decease they always elected one chief judge to represent him, whom they called *the president of the council,* whose peculiar office was to take care of the oral law; for he was the keeper, and, as the Jews say, the repository of the traditions. The next eminent for abilities they chose to be his second, and him they called *the father of*

BOOK I.

the council, or the vice-president. These seventy, as some suppose, were chosen at first by six out of every tribe, except the tribe of Levi, out of which four only were chosen. Others describe the manner of their choice to be thus: six of every tribe had their names written in little scrolls of paper; in seventy of these was written *zaken*, an *elder*, in the two others *chelek*, a *part*. These schedules were put into an urn and mixed: those who drew out the scroll which had the name of elder in it, were admitted into the number of the council; but those who drew the two blanks were rejected. This bench of judges sat in the manner of a half-circle, the president sitting in the midst above the rest; on his right hand sat the vice-president, and then the whole sanhedrim on the one hand and on the other in a semicircle. But this posture of sitting was not always observed, particularly when a case of blasphemy came before them, which they heard standing upon their feet; and when the witness delivers his testimony of what he heard the blasphemer say, the judges rend their garments, and never sew them up again. On each hand of the court before them stood a clerk of the council; the one registered the acquitting voices, the other the condemning. There was a certain degree of doctors, or scribes, that sat in the sanhedrim, but were not members of it; they did not sit on the bench with the judges, as not being of their order, but on seats below, nearer the ground. These men were learned in the laws, and were consulted in difficult matters, in the manner that our judges in England are in debates that arise in the house of lords. The proper and constant time of the sitting of this court was from the end of the

Franc. Junius Analyt. Expos. Numb. 11. Solom. Jarchi.

morning service to the beginning of the evening, till our three of the clock in the afternoon; and so their sitting and divine service did not interfere one with the other; yet sometimes, upon particular occasions, their sessions were prolonged till night; and then they might determine the matter they had been debating upon by day; but they might not enter upon a new cause by night. During their whole time of sitting, there were not to be fewer in number than twenty-three. If any has occasion to go out, says Maimonides, let him first look round, whether his colleagues be three and twenty; if they be, let him go out; but if not, let him wait till another come in. This senatorian dignity was conferred by imposition of hands; for Moses laid his hands upon the seventy elders, who initiated others after the same way; yet, say the Jews, this solemn rite could not be used without the districts of the Holy Land, because the efficacy of it was confined within the bounds of Palestine. This ceremony was at length disused, and succeeded by this form of words: "Be- "hold the hand is imposed on thee, and power "given thee to judge in criminal causes."

In Sanhed. Per. 11.

The authority of this great council extended to judge of all persons, except the king, and of all matters, though inferior cases were generally referred to the lower courts. Whatever causes the other magistrates in the towns of Palestine and Jerusalem were not able to decide, belonged to their jurisdiction. Nor was their power confined to the Holy Land; but all the Jews in foreign countries thought themselves obliged by their decrees. From this supreme court they received the rule and determination concerning intercalating and beginning the year, and the time

BOOK I.

for the celebration of the public festivals. Had a man occasion, says the Talmud, to inquire about a matter, he applied first to the judicatory that was in his own city. If they could resolve it, he had no more to do; if that could not, he went to the next sanhedrim; if that could not, he went to the sanhedrim of the three and twenty in the gate of the mountain of the house; if that could not, he went to the other sanhedrim of three and twenty in the gate of Nicanor; and if that could not, he applied to the great council that sat in the room Gazith, and there he received a positive determination; which if he did not absolutely submit to, he passed under the notion of a rebellious elder, and was in danger of being tried for his life. From this great sanhedrim decrees and judgments go out for all Israel, and whosoever believed Moses and his law was bound to rest upon them for matters of the law. Their determination in civil or criminal matters was not to be controverted, and all parties were to rest absolutely in their decisions. Not the least alteration was to be allowed in the sentence; for though it might possibly be unjust, and the senate perhaps did really mistake the case, and were better informed afterwards, (for which the law seems to order an expiatory sacrifice,) yet it was not lawful for any man to act contrary to their present decree, nor to teach the contrary, whatever he might think of it in his private opinion: if he presumed to dispute the validity of their determinations, he was to die for his contumacy and contempt, which was done by strangling. The most received opinion is, that the offender was kept in custody till the next great feast, (either of the passover, or pentecost, or tabernacles,) and then ex-

In Sanhed. Per. 11.

Maimon. in Mamrim. Per. 1.

Levit. iv. 13.

ecuted, when the whole nation, that is, all the males, were present; which example was designed to strike a terror into the people, that they should not presume to resist the supreme authority, but pay an absolute and undisputed submission. They had the power of life and death, and had authority to judge of heresy and heterodoxy, to appoint magistrates in inferior cities, to pronounce whether an apostate city should be rased or not, to administer the bitter waters to the suspected wife; and in case of murder to measure to the next city, when the murderer is unknown; to pass sentence upon a whole tribe, a prophet, the high priest, and (if we believe Maimonides) the king himself. His words are: if the high priest did any thing that deserved whipping, they whipped him, and restored him to his dignity again; and though they admitted not a king of the house of David to be a member of the sanhedrim, yet did the kings judge the people, and they judged them, if there was occasion. But this learned rabbi was strangely prejudiced in favour of this great council; and notwithstanding Josephus is of the same opinion, yet to allow such an extent of jurisdiction to this court, so as to inflict corporal punishment upon the persons of their kings, is contrary to the general notions of sovereignty, the judgment of the best commentators, and particularly, the holy scriptures are absolutely silent, and nothing can possibly be inferred from them to countenance such a coercive authority.

In Sanhed. Per. 2, 3.

This college of seventy-one had power to inflict capital penalties, in which matters they were particularly conversant, and could punish with four sorts of death, with stoning, burning, slaying with the

BOOK I. sword, and strangling; and the Jews are fond of believing that even after the temple was destroyed and the sanhedrim ceased, yet these four kinds of death that were used to be inflicted by the great council did not cease: he that deserved, say they, to be stoned to death, either fell off from some house, or some wild beast tore and devoured him: he that deserved burning, either fell into some fire, or some serpent bit him: he that deserved to be slain with the sword, was either delivered into the hands of a heathen king, or was murdered by robbers: he that deserved strangling, was either drowned in some river, or choked by a quinsy. But be that as it will, it is certain that about forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the great sanhedrim lost their judiciary power in capital cases: it was not taken from them by the Romans, as the Jews vainly urge; but it fell out of their hands of itself, through their own unaccountable indolence, cowardice, and lenity; and this relaxation of discipline encouraged all sorts of criminals in their impieties; so that the sanhedrim durst not call them to an account, nor inflict punishments upon them. Their own records declare that adulteries about the time we are speaking of were grown so common, that the sanhedrim determined there should be no more trial of the suspected wife by the bitter waters which God had prescribed: that murders were so common and ordinary, that the sanhedrim determined there should be no more the beheading of a heifer, which God had prescribed for the expiation of an uncertain murder; and murderers so numerous, powerful, and impudent, that the magistrates could not, durst not judge them, for fear of being themselves murdered: and

Chetubb. fol. 30. 1.

therefore the great sanhedrim resolved, Come, let us rise, and sit here no longer; it is better for us to depart hence, than, by sitting here, to contract a guilt upon ourselves; and the place of our session requires that we should do judgment and execution, and we cannot do it. And so they rose and went thence; and then ceased and failed the judging of capital offenders throughout all the courts of Israel.

When this great council was first formed by Moses, they sat at the door of the tabernacle, that, being so near the divine presence, they might be influenced to execute judgment and justice among the people. In the time of the first temple they kept their session sometimes in the gate Shushan, or the gate of the mountain of the house, and sometimes in the gate of Nicanor, or the gate of the court. They did not sit in the very gate through which the people passed, (for that part of the gate was within the court, where no person might sit but the king only,) but in some upper room over the gate, which, though it stood within the compass of the court, they did not esteem so holy as the place below. Upon sabbath days and public festivals, they sat in the court of the Gentiles. During the captivity, this national council was kept up at Babylon, where they met and consulted for the common interest of the nation. This opinion is controverted by learned men; but it is certain, from the Jewish writers, that there was a sanhedrim in Alexandria in Egypt, for the sake only of a colony of the Jews that was there planted, even while Judæa and Jerusalem were fully inhabited; how much more, then, might there have been one at Babylon, when the

Gemara Hierosol. in Succah, fol. 55.

BOOK I.

whole nation was removed thither during their captivity in that land! After the second temple was finished, there was a building erected called Gazith, so called because it was neatly framed of hewn stone: half of this fabric was holy, and half of it common; that is, half of it stood within the court, and half of it within the chel; and here it was where the great council of the judges sat; for no one was to sit within the verge of the court except the king. This apartment, Gazith, was near the altar of burnt offerings, half of it being in that sacred court where the altar stood; and this court of judicature thought themselves bound, while they sat there, to execute impartial justice, because of the nearness of the divine presence, which they imagined resided always upon the altar, and looked upon them when they acted in judgment. In this place they sat till their authority was almost lost; for when they found that they could not oppose that torrent of wickedness that generally prevailed, they resolved not to sit there in judgment any more. While they continued in the room Gazith, in the very court of Israel before the altar, they thought themselves bound to judge according to the sacredness of the place; which when they could not do, by reason of the insolence and resolution of the criminals, they broke up their session, and removed from that apartment to a place that joined to the shops and stalls, where salt and oil, and frankincense and other accommodations for the service of the altar, were publicly sold. They made many other removes from place to place, but still their authority diminished, till, sitting at last at Tiberias, the jurisdiction of the great sanhedrim expired, about the

time when Antoninus, called *the philosopher*, was emperor of Rome. CHAP. VI.

Besides this high court of judicature, there was a consistory of three and twenty appointed in most cities of any note, who sat in judgment upon the lives and fortunes of the people, and decided all causes, a few only excepted. There were two of these lesser courts in Jerusalem, the one in the gate of Shushan, and the other in the gate of Nicanor; and through all the cities of Palestine was a council of twenty-three established, provided that there were a hundred and twenty men in the city qualified to bear office. Every sanhedrim (says Maimonides) of twenty-three had three forms of probationers, of three and twenty in every form; and when there was a vacancy in the sanhedrim, the highest in the first form was admitted and made a judge; then the highest in the second form came in, and sat lowest in the first form; and the highest in the third form came up, and sat lowest in the second; and some new man was admitted to sit lowest in the third form; and by this means the sanhedrims and the forms were still kept full. The advancement of judges into the supreme court of seventy-one was first by degrees, through the two courts of twenty-three that were in Jerusalem. Whosoever, says the same rabbi, was found of competent qualifications, was first made a judge in his own city, and from thence was promoted into the judicatory of the gate of the mountain of the house, from thence into the judicatory in the gate of the court, and so at last into the great sanhedrim. These consistories always sat in the gates of the cities; their session began after morning prayers, and continued to the

In Sanhed. Per. 1.

BOOK I.

end of the sixth hour, that is, with us, till twelve of the clock; and their authority, though not in capital cases, was exerted in many places after Jerusalem was destroyed.

There was yet a lower court, consisting of three judges, set up in small villages, that did not contain a hundred and twenty householders: their office was to determine about matters of money, rights of inheritance, and division of lands, borrowing, stealing, damages, restitutions, the forcing or enticing of a maid, pulling off the shoe, and many other matters of an inferior concern. They had no authority in capital cases: but though they could not punish with death, yet they had the power of scourging and inflicting other penalties, as the case required. This sort of consistories is kept up among the Jews to this day. All that were Jews were under the jurisdiction of these courts, and the proselytes of righteousness had the advantage to be judged by them. But proselytes of the gate were tried by one judge, and were put to death by the testimony of one witness; which was insufficient to convict a Jew, and was against the express command of the Mosaic law.

Reland, Antiq. Sac. pars ii. cap. 7.

Maimonides makes mention of some particular cases that neither belonged to the seventy elders, nor to the college of twenty-three, nor to the triumvirate; but they were to be referred to a peculiar senate; in which number he takes notice of manslaughter committed by an uncertain hand, in the borders of any town; five men, says he, must expiate this by the sacrifice of a heifer. Josephus also speaks of a court of judicature in every city, consisting of seven judges, each of whom had two of

In Sanhed. c. 5.

Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 8.

the tribe of Levi to assist him; who, with a president and deputy, made up the number of twenty-three; which seems to be the same court of justice with the college of twenty-three above mentioned. CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

The forms of judgment, and methods of trial in the public courts of justice.

IN the civil consistories of the Hebrews, there were always present the judges, witnesses, advocates, notaries, and officers. The Mosaic law strictly insists upon the qualities of uprightness, patience, impartiality, deliberation, and compassion in those who sit in judgment. They ought to judge, says Josephus, with equity, without respect to profit or dignity, and prefer justice before all things; for God will take vengeance upon unjust judges: and it was a standing law, that if a judge wilfully pronounced an unrighteous decree, he was bound to make restitution to the person whose cause he had perverted. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 8.

In the supreme courts there was a president over the other judges, whose leave was first obtained for the trial of all actions; and to avoid all appearance of partiality, there was an equal regard had to the plaintiff and the defendant. If two parties, says a learned rabbi, appear in a cause, and the one be clothed in rich apparel, and the other be ragged, and in a poor habit, let it be said to him that is more honourable, Either do you bestow upon your adversary as good clothes as you have on yourself, or else put on such as he wears, that you may be both

BOOK I.

alike, and then appear before the court of judgment. By no means let the one sit, and the other stand; but let them both be commanded to stand: or, if it please the judges to give them both leave to sit, let not one of them sit in a high place, and the other in a low, but both on the same bench, one on the side of the other. And so tender were these judicatories to criminals, especially in capital cases, that the defendant was not only allowed to defend himself to the utmost, but every one had liberty to speak in his favour; which was a privilege not permitted to the accuser.

The party accused, when he was upon his trial, stood in an eminent place in the court, that the people might see him, and hear what was alleged against him, and the proofs of it, and the defence made by the criminal: the accusers and the witnesses likewise stood, unless they were allowed to sit by the indulgence of the judges. The advocates or pleaders attended the court, and were placed where they might be conveniently heard: the notaries were two; one stood on the right hand of the judges, to write the sentence of absolution, the other stood on the left, to write the sentence of condemnation. The officers were in the nature of sergeants, who were present to execute what the judges determined; and they carried their staves and whips, as the Roman consuls had their lictors, with rods and axes carried before them, for the more ready execution of justice.

These tribunals were exceeding strict in the examination of witnesses, and would not admit their testimony, before their behaviour and reputation were inquired into. A woman was not admitted to

be a witness, because of the levity and weakness of her sex; nor a man servant, by reason of the servile and abject nature of his mind, which might be tempted by bribes, or terrified by fear, to falsify in his depositions. If a witness was convicted of perjury in a capital case, he was punished with death: and generally it was the rule, that whoever gave a false testimony was subject to the same penalty that the person should have suffered, if he had been cast by his false accusation. But this practice was not always observed; and, as an instance, it was allowed, that if any one by false evidence attempted to deprive another of his legitimacy, and by consequence to rob him of the privileges of being legitimate, by saying that he is the son of a divorced woman, though he were indeed a false witness, yet he was not punished in the same manner, to be made as the son of a divorced woman, but he was to be scourged with forty stripes; and in another case, if a witness falsely accused the daughter of a priest of playing the whore, he was not to be burnt, as she should have been, but to be strangled as an adulterer.

No man was to be found guilty, but by two witnesses at least, and those of a competent age, of good fame, and not convicted of ever having given a false testimony: one witness was not sufficient to convict of any offence, whether in civil or criminal matters. For an inquisition into the fact one was enough, but not for the condemnation of the person accused: yet in pecuniary matters, the Hebrew doctors say, that the testimony of one credible witness was sufficient to put a man to his oath for his purgation, and they fixed a mark of infamy upon him

BOOK I. who in such cases had such a single witness to appear against him. But though one witness was not sufficient to condemn another; yet if he gave a false testimony, it was allowed as evidence to condemn himself. The punishment, as was observed before, was generally by the law of retaliation; yet the party injured might, if he pleased, forbear to require this punishment; but the judge, if it was insisted upon, could not deny to inflict it. It was a law among the Jews, that no man was to suffer his neighbour to perish in judgment, when he could free him by his testimony; and the judges had power to use solemn adjurations, either to draw a confession from the person accused, or a faithful testimony from a witness; and the party was obliged to speak the truth, as much as if he had taken a strict oath. Every man was bound to give testimony in the civil courts, when he was required; but there was a difference observed between capital and pecuniary causes: in the latter, a man was not obliged to come and testify, unless he was cited by the plaintiff, or by the court; but in capital trials, and in such things as the law prohibited, he was bound to appear of his own accord, and give his evidence without any summons.

After the cause had been carefully examined, and all parties impartially heard, sentence was pronounced in this manner: "Thou, Simeon, art just;" "Thou, Reuben, art guilty;" which simple pronunciation of sentence either absolved or condemned the accused. When the sentence was delivered, the witnesses, if the case was capital, put their hands upon the head of the condemned person, and said, "Thy blood be upon thy own head." Then was

the malefactor led to execution, and no one was allowed openly to lament his misfortune: the place in the wilderness, and before the conquest of Canaan, was without the camp; and afterwards, without the gate of the city, though stoning was often executed in the temple. He was conducted by two executioners, that were called *spectators of the congregation;* because while the court was sitting, they were no more than spectators, to behold and to attend to the commands of the judges. The business of an executioner was not of so ill repute in the Hebrew republic, as to derive any great reproach upon the officer. Nor was it unusual for great persons to do execution upon offenders in ancient times, when they had no public ministers of this nature. We find that Saul commanded those that attended upon him to kill the priests; and Doeg, one of his great officers, did it: Samuel himself hewed Agag to pieces in Gilgal; and Benajah, the general of the army, fell upon Joab at the horns of the altar. The distance between the court of judicature and the place of execution contributed often to save the life of the criminal; for as he was led to be executed, a public crier went before, saying, with an audible voice; "Such a one is going to be punished with "such a death, because he has committed such or "such an offence, at such a time, and in such a "place; and these two are witnesses thereof. If "there be any one therefore that knows of any "thing that may be offered to his advantage, let "him come forth and give his evidence." For this purpose a person was appointed to stand at the door of the consistory, with an handkerchief or linen cloth in his hand; and if any one offered to speak

Moses Kotsen in Sanhed.

BOOK I.

in his defence, he who stood at the door waved the handkerchief in the air: upon which, another who was ready at a small distance, with a fleet horse, rode with all possible speed, and called back the condemned prisoner. And so tender were these judges in cases of blood, that if the malefactor could think of any thing further to say for his own purgation, he was indulged the liberty of returning back four or five times, except he was frivolous and trifling in his plea, and imposed upon the favour of the court. When the criminal came within ten cubits of the place of execution, two of the scholars of the wise men, who always attended upon these occasions, exhort him to confess; because they say that every one that confesses has a part in the world to come. Immediately before the execution began, says the Talmud, they gave the condemned a quantity of frankincense in a cup of wine, to stupify him, and render him insensible of his pain; and the compassionate ladies of Jerusalem generally provided this draught at their own cost. The foundation of this custom was the command of Solomon in his Proverbs; *Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts.*

Prov. xxxi. 6.

The malefactor, after execution, was not buried in the grave of his fathers, which was esteemed a mark of infamy and reproach, but generally near the place of execution; and a heap of stones was raised over the body, as a monument of his suffering as a criminal. There were two burial-places without the city allowed for capital offenders, one for those that were slain with the sword and strangled, and another for such as were burnt and stoned; and when the flesh was wasted, the bones were some-

times collected with great care, and laid up in the sepulchres of their families: and in the last place, the tree whereon a man was hanged, and the stone wherewith he was stoned, and the sword wherewith he was beheaded, and the napkin wherewith he was strangled, were all buried; that there might be no memorial remaining, and that it might never be said in time to come, This is the tree, this is the sword, this is the stone, this is the napkin, whereon, or whereby, such a person was executed and lost his life. The time of public executions was generally near sunset, that the malefactor might soon be buried, which was always done the same night; and as the courts of justice never tried two criminals on the same day, except they were guilty of the same crime, so two were never executed together, unless they were condemned for the same offence.

CHAP. VIII.

The capital punishments among the Hebrews; stoning, burning, slaying with the sword or beheading, and strangling: death by the hand of Heaven, and death by cutting off.

THE old Hebrews had in use among them no more than four sorts of capital punishments; stoning, burning, slaying with the sword or beheading, and strangling. Of these, stoning was esteemed the most grievous, burning worse than beheading, beheading more painful than strangling, and strangling was the easiest of all. They had a rule, that when the Mosaic law pronounced only that a man should *die the death*, it was to be understood of

BOOK I.

strangling; for where there was no express mention of the kind of death, they thought the most favourable was to be admitted. But this rule was not generally true; for though the law says that the adulterer was to be punished with death, and does not determine the particular kind of it, yet in former times adultery was punished with stoning: but when the law adds, *His blood shall be upon him*, they say that death by stoning is intended. The meaning of the phrase is, he shall perish by his own fault; and therefore his blood, that is, his death, shall not be vindicated. The blood of one that was slain, being innocent, was upon the murderer, and therefore avenged; but he that was put to death for his crimes had his blood upon himself, and no one else was to bear it, the executioner himself contracting no guilt upon him.

Lev. xx. 9.

To be stoned to death was a most grievous and terrible infliction. When the offender came within four cubits of the place of execution, he was stript naked, only leaving a covering before; and his hands being bound, he was led up to the fatal place, which was an eminence twice a man's height. The first executioners of the sentence were the witnesses, who generally pulled off their clothes for that purpose: one of them threw him down with great violence upon his loins; if he rolled upon his breast he was turned upon his loins again; and if he died by the fall, there was an end; but if not, the other witness took a great stone and dashed upon his breast, as he lay upon his back; and then if he was not dispatched, all the people that stood by threw stones at him till he died. The offenders who are to die by stoning are reckoned to be eighteen: he

Moses Kotsen, fol. 188. col. 4.

that lies with his own mother, or with his father's wife, or with his daughter-in-law, or with a betrothed maid, or with mankind, or with a beast; the woman that lies down to a beast; the blasphemer; he that worships an idol; he that offers any of his seed to Moloch; he that has a familiar spirit; the wizard; the private enticer to idolatry; the public solicitor to idolatry; the witch; the profaner of the sabbath; he that curses his father or his mother; and the rebellious son. All that died by stoning, if we believe the Jews, were also hanged. But this is not universally true: it seems rather, that all great and notorious offenders, who deserved to be made public examples, were hanged up after they had suffered the death to which they were sentenced; they were absolutely dead before this suspension; which shews that this punishment was not the same with the Roman crucifixion, which was hanging alive upon the gibbet, whereby they expired before they were taken down. But this Hebrew custom was no more than hanging up their bodies after they were dead, and exposing them for some time to open shame. For this purpose a piece of timber was fixed in the ground, out of which came a beam, whereunto the hands of the sufferer were tied; so that his body hung in such a posture as crucified men did. When the sun set, the body was taken down; for he that is hanged, as the law says, *is accursed of God;* not that the criminal was accursed, because he was hanged; but he was therefore hanged, because he was accursed. Hanging up was a sign that the man had committed a horrid crime, whereby he had incurred the divine displeasure; so that every one who saw him might

BOOK I. think with themselves, This man was under the curse of God, because of his sin; and unless he had suffered this curse, he could not have been buried, and put into the condition of other men; but when he had suffered for his sin, it had been criminal in the people not to have taken him down, or to have prolonged his suspension longer than God imposed this curse upon him: and the land likewise had been defiled, if after this suffering they had not buried him; for the whole country lay under a legal pollution as long as an accursed thing hung openly among them. There is an exception to this practice upon record, concerning the taking down the bodies of persons that were hanged the same evening; for the bodies of Saul's sons hung (as the Hebrew doctors understand it) from the middle of our March to the middle of October: but this, it must be observed, was not a legal punishment, (and therefore David committed it to the Gibeonites, and did not execute it by his own officers,) but an extraordinary one, inflicted by those who were not bound to obedience of the Mosaic law.

2 Sam. xxi. 10.

This punishment of stoning extended not only to the person offending, but oftentimes to his cattle; and, if we believe some of the Jews, to his sons and daughters. The case of Achan is particular upon this occasion: his children were punished, say some, in such a terrible manner, because they were privy to their father's fraud and concealment. Others think this was a necessary severity in the beginning of a new empire, and of a plentiful fortune, upon which the Hebrews were now entered, that they should not wantonly abuse it; but there are those who think this but a seeming difficulty, Achan alone

Josh. vii. 14.

being stoned, (as the text expresses that Israel stoned him with stones,) and his children brought out to be spectators of the execution. And when it is said afterwards that they stoned them with stones, it relates only to his oxen, and asses, and sheep, that were stoned with him.

The capital punishment carrying the next degree of terror, was burning. They set the malefactor in dung up to the knees, and then tied a towel about his neck, which was drawn by the two witnesses till they made his mouth gape, into which they poured hot melted lead down his throat, which consumed his bowels. This was called the burning of the soul, and is generally described by the Jewish writers. But the word for burning in scripture being the same that is used when mention is made of burning with fire and fagot, as we now speak, it is supposed that such a method was sometimes practised, which is called by the Jews the burning of the body. Malefactors adjudged to this death were, the priest's daughter who committed whoredom; he who lay with his own daughter, or with his daughter's daughter, or with his son's daughter, or with his wife's daughter, or with her son's daughter, or with her daughter's daughter, or with his mother-in-law, or with the mother of his mother-in-law, or with the mother of his father-in-law.

To be slain with the sword was to be beheaded, which was executed in the manner used at this day. Criminals condemned to this death were, the murderer, and the inhabitants of a city perverted to idolatry.

The punishment of strangling, as the Jews describe it, was not an infliction like our hanging men

BOOK I.

by the neck; but the offender being fixed up to the loins in dung, they tied a napkin about his neck, which being drawn hard by the witnesses choked him. The sufferers by strangling were, he that smote his father or his mother, he that stole a soul of the Israelites, an elder who contradicted the consistory, a false prophet, and he that prophesied in the name of an idol, he who lay with another man's wife, and he who abused the body of the priest's daughter.

These capital executions were prescribed by the Mosaic law, and confirmed by the sentence of the public judicatories: but beside these, there were two more punishments by death, very frequently mentioned by the Jewish writers, that were not inflicted by the power of men, but by the immediate vengeance of God himself. The first of these is called a death by the hand of Heaven, which is understood to be a divine punishment by some sudden and unexpected blow, which was not to be resisted. This death was conceived to be merely personal, and not to affect children or posterity. The words, *lest they die,* which are so often mentioned in the sacred laws that relate to Aaron and his sons, and the affairs of the sanctuary, are generally interpreted to signify a death by the hand of Heaven. A great number of offences were liable to this penalty, which in the general were confined to persons who presumed by their uncleanness to violate the sanctity of divine worship, and the place where that holy service was performed.

Another effect of divine vengeance was by punishing with death, called the *cutting off,* which was understood to be a deeper degree of indignation,

and a more avengeful stroke than death by the hand of Heaven; and was thought to signify an immature death, to die without children, and to forfeit the happiness of the other world. The Talmud reckons six and thirty offences that were exposed to this penalty: he that lies with his mother, or his father's wife, or his daughter-in-law, or with mankind, or with a beast, or a woman lying with a beast, or a man lying with a woman and her daughter, or with another man's wife, or with his own sister, or his father's sister, or his mother's sister, or his wife's sister, or his brother's wife, or his father's brother's wife, or with a woman in her separation; or he that blasphemeth, or committeth idolatry, or giveth his seed to Moloch, or useth sorcery, or profaneth the sabbath, or eateth holy things in his uncleanness, or that comes into the sanctuary being unclean, or that eateth fat, or blood, or what is left of the sacrifice, or any sacrificed thing not offered in season, or that killeth or offereth up a sacrifice out of the court, or that eateth leaven at the passover, or that eateth any thing on the day of expiation, or doth any work in it, or that maketh oil or incense like the holy, or that anoints with the holy oil, or that delays the passover or circumcision, for which there are affirmative precepts: all these, if done wilfully, are liable to cutting off. This punishment proceeded immediately from the hand of God; and therefore to understand it, when it is mentioned in scripture, as if it signified cutting off from the public assembly by ecclesiastical censure, is a wrong opinion. There is nothing more common among the Hebrew canonists, than to adjudge very many offences to the penalty of cutting off, accord-

Tal. Kerithuth. Per. 1.

BOOK I.

ing to the usual phrase. If he shall do this out of presumption, he is guilty of cutting off; but if he should do it out of ignorance, he is bound to a sacrifice for sin. When a person was delivered to this punishment, there was sometimes a censure and infliction added by the sanhedrim; which if the criminal suffered, he was thought to be absolved from the penalty of cutting off, he was no longer under a curse, nor in danger from the impending vengeance of God.

CHAP. IX.

Punishments not capital; imprisonment, restitution, the law of talio, *or like for like, scourging, excommunication, rebels, beating,* &c.

THE punishments before mentioned affected the life of the criminal; but there were others that were not capital, and were inflicted according to the nature and degree of the offence. These were chiefly four, imprisonment, restitution, the law of *talio,* or like for like, and scourging. There were two prisons in Jerusalem; one was called the king's prison, which had a lofty tower that overlooked the royal palace, and had a spacious court before it, where state offenders were confined; the other was for common malefactors: and in both these the prisoners were supported by the public upon bread and water. Sometimes suspected persons were confined in the custody of state officers in their own houses, of the same nature as the king's messengers among us. The royal prison was a most dreadful place; especially if the prisoner was put into the dungeon, where he was let down naked. This dismal pit was

in the court of the king's prison; and here Jeremiah, who gives us the best account of the place, was confined. The words of the prophet are, *Then took they Jeremiah, and cast him into the dungeon that was in the court of the prison: and they let him down with cords. And in the dungeon there was no water, but mire: and his feet sunk into the mire.* Over these prisons was a gaol-keeper; who, if any prisoner escaped, was liable to suffer the same punishment as the criminal was supposed to deserve. Under this penalty of imprisonment are included those instruments of misery, the stocks, pillory, chains, fetters, and the like; all which sorts of punishments, since they differ very little, or nothing at all, from those which are now in common use among us, need no particular explication.

Jer. xxxviii.

The penalty of restitution will be more fully described hereafter. In this place it is sufficient to observe, that it was commanded when goods were unjustly gotten or wrongfully detained, and was of a threefold nature; either when the same thing in kind (as we call it) was restored that was injuriously gotten; or when there was so much for so much in quantity restored, the goods unjustly procured being sold or lost; or when restitution was made according to what a man had, it being out of his power to satisfy the whole. We are told that the Jews are so precise in this matter, that if they had a beam or a piece of timber in their house, which they apprehended was unjustly gotten, they would pull down the house and restore it to the right owner.

Dav. Kimchi.

The punishment of *talio*, or like for like, was either according to the letter of the law, when the of-

BOOK I.

fender was punished with the loss of an eye (for instance) for putting out the eye of another; or when the price of an eye, or some proportionable mulct, was paid for an eye put out, or any other member spoiled. The Hebrew doctors understand that the price of an eye (for example) should be paid, not that the criminal should be punished like for like, because a penalty of this nature is in some cases impossible; as if a blind man should put out another's eye, or one toothless strike out another's tooth. And in other cases, perhaps, it would be unjust; as if a man who had but one eye, should strike out the eye of another who had two; by suffering this penalty the offender would become wholly blind. In cases of bodily wounds and blemishes, they say that the party offending was bound to a fivefold satisfaction, to pay for the hurt received in the loss of the member, for the damage by the loss of his labour, for his pain and grief arising from the wound, for the expense in curing it, and for the blemish and deformity occasioned by it.

The penalty of scourging was inflicted by the sentence of the judges; who, having first admonished the offender, and produced the witnesses against him, as in capital cases, ordered him to lie down before a low pillar, to which his hands were tied: then was he stript down to his waste, the executioner stood behind him upon a stone, where he scourged him both on the back and breast with thongs made of an ox's hide, in open court, before the face of the judges. The rule was, that the criminal was scourged before the council of three, for the violation of a negative precept; but for the breach of an affirmative, the execution was to be done before the court

of twenty-three. He was condemned to receive more or fewer stripes, proportionable to his crime: and all the time the executioner was scourging him, the principal judge proclaimed those words with a loud voice; *If thou observest not all the words of this law*, &c. *then the Lord shall make thy plagues wonderful*, &c.; adding those, *Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them*, &c. Concluding at last with those of the Psalmist; *But he, being full of compassion, forgave their iniquities;* which he was to repeat, if he had finished these verses before the full number of stripes were given. It was expressly commanded that no Jew should suffer by more than forty stripes for any crime; fewer they might inflict, but not more: and of this they were so careful, that as one of the three judges commanded the executioner to strike, another told the stripes; while the third pronounced the sentences out of Scripture before mentioned, to admonish him, and every one else, of the justice of the punishment. For the prevention also of excess in the number of blows, they were used to give but thirty-nine stripes, and no more, though the offender was ever so strong or stubborn. For this purpose the scourge consisted of three thongs, so that at each blow he received three stripes; and in their greatest correction were given commonly but thirteen blows, that is, forty stripes save one. Yet it was esteemed so great a presumption to enter any part of the temple in uncleanness, that if a leper came into the mountain of the house, he was punished with eighty stripes; and if any man deserved this punishment twice together, they sometimes exceeded the number of forty, and went so far

Deut. xxviii. 58.

Deut. xxix. 9.

Psalm lxxviii. 38.

BOOK I. as to sentence such a malefactor to receive seventy-nine stripes. And on the other side, if a man was so weak that he was ready to faint away before he had received the thirty-nine, the judges would order the executioner to stay his hand. No person was to be reproached after he had suffered this punishment, nor upbraided for the crime for which he was whipped; he was to be treated with the same respect, and restored to the same office which he enjoyed before; except only if he were the president of the sanhedrim, who was never to be restored to his authority, if he had been scourged, nor equally honoured with his inferior colleagues. Sometimes, in notorious offences, and to increase the pains, they would use whips with rowels in them, or tied sharp thorns to the end of the thongs, called *scorpions* in the scripture, which afflicted and tore the flesh in a grievous manner.

These punishments were, in a great measure, prescribed by the Mosaic law, and confirmed by common practice: but when offences were committed, for which no punishment was appointed, either in the scriptures or in the traditional decrees, the penalty of excommunication was devised by the courts of justice, and inflicted by public sentence upon the offender. The lowest degree of excommunication was called *reproof*, (the same perhaps
1 Tim. v. 1. with St. Paul's *rebuke*,) and the person who lay under this correction was obliged to keep himself within doors, as one who took shame to himself. He was not to converse in public, nor to appear before the person who struck him with this sentence; but others were not bound to avoid his company, but had the liberty to resort to him at home.

The reasons, for which excommunication was generally inflicted, were two; the first (as the Jews express it) for money, the other for epicurism. Excommunication for money was not when one owing another money did not pay it, for in this case an action at law lay against the debtor; but when he was summoned into court, and adjudged by the bench to pay it, and then refused. The crime of epicurism commonly intended a scorn and contempt of the words of God, and the scholars of the wise men; and an epicurean among the Talmudists denotes a presumptuous, dissolute person, governed by no rule, and circumscribed by no law. The offender, against whom they were to proceed by excommunication, was first cited by a messenger sent to him by the court; who gave him notice of the day on which, and of the persons before whom, he was to appear. The days were generally three; the second day of the week, (when they sat in the court, and assembled in the synagogue,) and the fifth day, (when likewise there was an assembly and a session,) and the second day of the week following. If he did not appear upon the day first appointed, they expected him upon the other two, and deferred the sentence; but this was when the case was about money. But if it were for epicurism, and the person did not appear upon the first day, the court proceeded to sentence, and he was excommunicated.

There were three degrees of excommunication among the Jews; the first is what is called in the New Testament *a casting out of the synagogue*, and signifies a separation from all commerce or society, either with man or woman, for the distance, they say, of four cubits; also from eating or drink-

BOOK I.

ing with any; from the use of the marriage bed; from shaving, washing, or the like, according to the pleasure of the judge, and the quality of the offence. It was of force thirty days, yet so that they might be shortened upon repentance. He that was thus excommunicated had liberty to be present at divine service, to teach, or learn of others; he hired servants, and was hired himself; but always upon condition of the separation above mentioned. If he remained impenitent, and persisted in his obstinacy, after the thirty days were expired, they excommunicate him again, with the addition also of a solemn curse. This is supposed by some to be the same with delivering over to Satan, and is the second degree of excommunication. The offence was published in the synagogue; and at the time of the publication of the curse, candles were lighted; and when it was ended they were put out, as a sign that the excommunicate was deprived of the light of Heaven. His goods were confiscated; his male children were not admitted to be circumcised. If he died without repentance, by the sentence of the judge, a stone was cast upon his coffin, or bier, to shew that he deserved to be stoned. He was not mourned for with any solemn lamentation, nor followed to the grave, nor buried with common burial. The last degree of excommunication was anathematizing; which was inflicted when the offender had often refused to comply with the sentence of the court, and was attended with corporal punishment, and sometimes with banishment and death. Drusius gives a form of this excommunication, which the Jews say was used by Ezra and Nehemiah against the Samaritans in this manner: they assembled the

De trib. Sect. lib. iii. cap. 11.

whole congregation in the temple of the Lord, and they brought three hundred priests, three hundred trumpets, and three hundred books of the law, and as many boys; and they sounded their trumpets, and the Levites singing, cursed the Samaritans by all the sorts of excommunication in the mystery of the name Jehovah, and in the Decalogue, and with the curse of the superior house of judgment, and likewise with the curse of the inferior house of judgment; that no Israelite should eat the bread of a Samaritan, (hence, they say, he who eats a Samaritan's bread is as he who eats swine's flesh,) and let no Samaritan be a proselyte in Israel; and that they should have no part in the resurrection of the dead.

Besides these penalties in common use among the Jews, there was another punishment, called the *rebel's beating;* which was often fatal, and inflicted by the mob (as we call it) with their fists, or staves, or stones, without mercy, or the sentence of the judges. Whoever transgressed against a prohibition of the wise men or of the scribes, that had its foundation in the law, was delivered over to the people, to be used in this manner; and he was called *a son of rebellion.* The frequent taking up of stones by the people to stone our Saviour, and the incursion upon him and upon St. Stephen for blasphemy, (as they would have it,) and upon St. Paul for defiling the temple, (as they supposed,) were of this nature.

Gloss. in Maim. in Sabbath. Per. 1.

There were other punishments introduced among the Jews in the latter times of their government, which were borrowed from other nations; and these were principally, the death upon the cross, sawing asunder, condemnation to fight with wild beasts, the

BOOK I.

wheel, drowning in the sea, beating to death with cudgels, and (as Junius observes, though his opinion is not generally allowed) boating. The first and the third were properly Roman punishments; the second was likewise used by the Romans, but whether originally taken from them is doubtful. The fourth and sixth were Grecian penalties: the fifth was, for the substance, in use among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, but in the manner of drowning they differed; for the Hebrews tied a millstone about the neck of the offender, which was peculiar to them. The last punishment was derived from the Persians, which, because of the singularity of it, deserves a particular description. The condemned person was laid upon his back in a boat, and having his hands tied fast to each side of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out, through a place made fit for it. In this posture they forcibly fed him with milk and honey, till the worms, bred in the excrements which he voided, did eat out his bowels as he thus lay, and so killed him. It was usually twenty days before he expired, the malefactor lying all this while in exquisite torments. The other kinds of punishments above mentioned being not properly of Jewish extract, and likewise so obvious to be understood, it would be of no use to have them particularly explained.

In Jerem. xxix. 26.

Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The original of the Hebrew priesthood; the succession of the high priests, from their first institution to the birth of Christ.

CHAP. I.

WHEREVER there has been any sense of religion, there were peculiar persons set apart, whose office it was to direct and govern the affairs of it. Among the Hebrews, in the most early times, the priesthood was vested in the heads of tribes, and in the firstborn of every family. To the patriarch, or head of every tribe, it belonged to bless the family, to offer sacrifice, to intercede for them by prayer, and to minister in other solemn acts of religion. And this office hereditarily descended to the firstborn, who had power to discharge it during the life of his father; for it was not necessary that he who was a priest by virtue of his primogeniture should be also the eldest of the house. Every firstborn had three great prerogatives, a double portion of the paternal inheritance, a lordship and principality over his brethren, and a right to the priesthood, to instruct them in the knowledge of divine things, and to manage the common offices of holy worship: so that in those times there was a particular priesthood in every family, the administration whereof was usually appropriated to the firstborn. But though the sacerdotal function ordinarily belonged to the firstborn, yet was it not so wholly invested in

BOOK II. them, but that, in some cases, it might be exercised by younger brothers; especially when they passed into other families, and themselves became heads of families and tribes. We find that Moses was a priest, or, as the Jews call him, the *priest of priests*, and yet was but the second son of Amram, and the younger brother of Aaron. The method, in short, seemed to be this: the patriarch, or surviving head of every tribe, was a kind of high priest over all the families that were descended from him; the firstborn in every family was the ordinary priest, who might officiate in the room of his father, and who, after his father's decease, succeeded him: the younger brothers, leaving their father's house, and themselves becoming heads of families, and their seats removed too far distant to make use of the ordinary priesthood, did themselves take the office upon them, and exercise it over all those that were under them, and descended from them; though the principal honour and dignity were reserved for the priesthood of the firstborn.

This was the state of the priesthood among the Hebrews, in a constant succession of the patriarchal line; and the church lay thus long dispersed in private families, and had been often reduced to an inconsiderable number, till God was at length pleased to enter into covenant with the whole body of the nation, and to govern his church by more certain and fixed methods. For this purpose Moses, by divine commission, established a regular priesthood; and as the firstborn in the family of every tribe was a priest before the delivery of the law, so after its publication, the firstborn in the chief family of Aaron was high priest, lineally descended, and by

succession: and by this necessity of succession, it happened that sometimes the high priest was but meanly qualified for so high a trust, and became contemptible in his office; from whence arose the common proverb, a scholar, though he be a bastard, is of more value than an illiterate high priest. CHAP. I.

The succession of the high priests, from the first institution of the order in the person of Aaron to the birth of Christ, may thus be briefly deduced, from the accounts of scripture, and other records of that nation.

Aaron.

Eleazar.

Phinehas, who is tenaciously held by the Jews to be Elias.

Abishua.

Bukki.

Uzzi.

Zerahiah.

Meraioth. Here the high priesthood changed from the line of Eleazar to the line of Ithamar.

Eli.

Phinehas.

Ahitub.

Ahimelech, or Ahijah.

Abiathar, who was deposed from the high priesthood by Solomon.

In the time of these high priests of the house of Ithamar, there were three successions in the line of Eleazar.

Amariah.

Ahitub.

Zadok.

Now whereas it is said that Zadok the son of

BOOK II. Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests, it is to be understood that they were chief among the priests and principal overseers, in the constant service and matters of the sanctuary; but Abiathar was high priest, who was of the house of Ithamar, who did not so much attend the ordinary and common service; therefore Zadok, of the line of Eleazar, and Ahimelech, of the family of Ithamar, had the chief management of the service under him.

When Solomon was fixed upon the throne, he degraded Abiathar from the high priesthood, as a turbulent ecclesiastic, and a man guilty of treason in the conspiracy of Adonijah; and he placed Zadok in his room, in whom the line of Eleazar was again restored. His successor was his son

Ahimaaz.

Azariah.

Johanan.

Azariah. He it was who executed the priest's office in the temple of Solomon; but it is a question whether it was at the beginning of the temple ser-

1 Chron. vi. 10. vice, or afterwards. The Jews generally conclude, that it was he who withstood Uzziah, when he went into the temple to burn incense; for which gallant stand, in honour of the priesthood, it is said of him alone, that he executed the priest's office in the temple.

Amariah. He was high priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat, and is said to be over the Jews in all matters of the Lord; from whence some conclude, that he was a member of the sanhedrim, or the great council at Jerusalem.

Ahitub, who had likewise the name of Jehoiadah, and was uncle to king Joash.

Meraioth, called Zechariah. He was stoned in the court of the temple, and had the name of Meraioth in memory of that horrid rebellion and cruelty.

Zadok.

Shallum.

Hilkiah, who found the manuscript of Moses in the reign of Josiah.

Azariah.

Seraiah, who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar at the destruction of Jerusalem.

Jozedek was carried captive into Babylon, from whence he never returned.

The Jews themselves not only differ in the number, but give a very scandalous account of the high priests under the second temple. The high priests under the second temple (says the Talmud) got into the office for money; and some say, they destroyed one another by witchcraft; so that according to some there were fourscore high priests from the return out of captivity till the destruction of the temple. Others compute them to be fourscore and one, some fourscore and two, some fourscore and three, some fourscore and four, and some fourscore and five. This may serve as an apology, if we cannot exactly reckon up the persons after the captivity; since the number, by their own confession, is so various and uncertain.

Talm. Jerus. Per. 1. in Joma.

Joshua, the son of Jozedek. He was high priest all the reign of Cyrus and Ahasuerus, and some part of the time of Darius.

Joakim.

Eliashib.

Jehoiada.

Jonathan, or Johanan.

BOOK II.

Jaddua.

Onias.

Simon, or Simeon the Just, of whom very honourable mention is made in the Hebrew writers.

Eleazar, the brother of Simeon, who (if Aristeas and Josephus may be credited) sent the seventy elders to Ptolemy Philadelphus, to translate the law into Greek.

Manasseh.

Onias, the son of Simeon the Just.

Simon, the son of Onias.

Onias, the son of Simon, who left a son behind him very young, and was succeeded in the high priesthood by his brother Jesus, who was likewise called

Jason, whose successor was Onias, his brother, who had also the name of

Menelaus.

Judas, (called Maccabæus, from the four acrostic letters he bore in his ensign,) who obtained many great victories, but was at last slain. In these times of confusion one Alcimus had the name of high priest: he was indeed of the right line, but a monster of mischief and impiety, and accordingly came to a most lamentable end.

Jonathan succeeded his brother Judas. He was made high priest by Alexander the son of Antiochus, and confirmed in that office by Antiochus the son of Alexander. He fought valiantly and with success, but was at last slain by Trypho. His successor was

Simon, his brother, a brave and fortunate general; but he fell by the treachery of his son-in-law.

John, called also Hyrcanus. He sacked Samaria,

destroyed the temple at Gerizim, slew many of the wise men at Jerusalem, and, after an administration of eighty years, espoused and died in the principles of the Sadducees.

Aristobulus, his son, who assumed the title and dignity of a king.

Alexander, who continued the regal title, fought many battles, and died of a quartan ague, which afflicted him three years.

Hyrcanus, his son, was made high priest; but his mother Alexandra, supported by the Pharisees, governed the kingdom.

Aristobulus, younger brother to Hyrcanus, after the death of their mother, made war upon his brother, whom he overcame, and forced to a private life, and then usurped the high priesthood and the kingdom. They both called in the Romans to their assistance; and Aristobulus provoking Pompey by his misbehaviour, caused the sacking of Jerusalem, and the subjection of the Jews to the Roman yoke, which they never shook off. Pompey restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and carried Aristobulus, and his son Antigonus, and his two daughters, prisoners to Rome.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, escaped the hands of Pompey; and, raising commotions in Judæa, affected the kingdom; but he was suppressed by Gabinius the Roman general.

Antigonus, another son of Aristobulus, made his escape from Rome; and by the assistance of the Parthians, deposed Hyrcanus, and took him prisoner. He afterwards cut off his ears, designing by that blemish to make him incapable of the priesthood; but this usurper lost his head at Antioch, by he

BOOK II. command of Marc Antony, having been first crucified and whipped.

Ananelus, an inferior priest, sent for from Babylon by Herod, and fixed in the high priesthood. This promotion displeased Mariamne, the wife of Herod; who, by her importunity and artifice, got him deposed in favour of her brother

Aristobulus, a youth of singular beauty, about fifteen years old, who, after a short possession, was drowned by the policy of Herod as he was swimming, and Ananelus again resumed the priesthood.

Jesus, the son of Favens, removed by Herod.

Simon, the son of Boethus. He was but a priest before; but Herod marrying his daughter, made him high priest, and afterwards deposed him.

Matthias, the son of Theophilus. He was deposed, and succeeded by

Jozarus, the son of Simon, deposed by Herod.

Eleazar, whom king Archelaus fixed in the high priesthood.

Jesus, the son of Sie, procured the removal of Eleazar.

Jozarus again obtains the high priesthood, in whose time happened the taxing of Judæa under Cyrenius, and the nativity of Christ. There were about eighteen successions more, before the wars of the Jews began, which ended in the dissolution of the civil and ecclesiastical government. Upon the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, the high priesthood was abolished, after the respect and dignity of that order had for many years before been utterly extinguished.

CHAP. II.

The consecration of the high priest; the pontifical robes described, the ephod, the breastplate, the robe, the plate of gold, the coat, the drawers, the girdle, and the mitre: the form of anointing, and the peculiar sacrifices that attended the solemnity.

THE high priesthood among the Hebrews descended to the firstborn, and the rites of admission into that office were exceeding solemn and magnificent. The ceremony of consecration consisted in washing, robing with the pontifical vestments, anointing, and the high priest was at last completed by peculiar sacrifices. He was first to be washed; and for that purpose water was brought from the laver to wash him at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, before he was permitted to enter into it. Whether the whole body was washed is not expressly said; but it may probably be thought it was; for he was now looked upon as wholly unclean, being unhallowed; and therefore it is supposed he was washed all over, though being once cleansed, he had no occasion to do more when he went to minister than to wash his hands and his feet. This ceremony was in common to the high priest and priests of a lower order.

He was next to be robed with the sacred vestments, which the Hebrew doctors imagine to be inseparable from the priesthood. These garments were esteemed holy; for they might be worn by none but the high priest, and by him only in the time of his ministration. There were some garments peculiar to himself, which none of the other priests might wear; and these were four, the breast-

BOOK II.

plate, the ephod, the robe, and the plate of gold. There were four more which he also wore, but they were common to him with the other priests: the coat, the drawers, the girdle, and the bonnet. Their bonnets indeed, and his mitre, were of a different form; yet they are not considered by the Jews as distinct vestments, being both coverings of the head; and they say that the high priest never wore at one time above eight sorts of garments, nor the lower above four. These vestments were rich and magnificent, in order to make the office the more respected, and to strike men with an awful sense of the divine Majesty, whose ministers they saw appear in such grandeur, and not only separated from other men, but clothed in splendid and precious garments, that they might look like men of quality and honour. This sacred habit was made by the most excellent artists, and the matter of it was either of woollen or linen, nothing of hair or silk being used in its contexture. The gold and jewels that were upon it were rather for ornament than admitted into the substance of it. But the garments of the high priest, which the Jews call the *white garments*, were certainly made of linen; and his girdle also was of the same when he wore those garments on the great day of expiation.

Of the garments appointed for the high priest, the ephod was a beautiful and splendid vestment, like that of the caracalla, only without any covering for the head, made of byssus and gold-thread interwoven, and adorned with the colours of blue, purple, and scarlet. It was a garment of the breadth of the back from shoulder to shoulder, and it hung behind from the armholes to the feet; from it there

came two pieces under the armholes, and met together, and clasped over the paps; and this was called the *curious girdle of the ephod*, because both it and the ephod were elegantly wrought of fine twist and gold. It had two shoulderpieces also, which went over the priest's shoulders, and were fastened to the ephod behind, and to the girdle before; and so the ephod hung low behind like a woman's veil, and came but short before like some workmen's aprons, hanging over their shoulders, and coming down but to their breasts. Upon these shoulderpieces were two beryl stones set in gold, in which the names of the twelve tribes were engraven, the six eldest upon that stone that was upon the right shoulder, the six younger on the other upon the left. The letters were so equally divided, that there were twenty-five on either stone, and Joseph's name was written *Jehoseph* to make the equality. Upon these shoulderpieces there were two bosses of gold near to these stones, into which two chains of gold, which tied the breastplate to the ephod, were so fastened, that the breastplate and ephod might not be parted; and whoever wilfully separated them incurred the punishment of whipping. It has been before observed that the ephod was a vestment peculiar to the high priest; but because it is said that David called to Abiathar to bring him the ephod, some learned men, particularly Cunæus, have imagined that the kings of Israel might make use of the ephod, as well as the high priest. But this is a wrong inference, and not to be deduced from that expression, which intends no more than that the high priest should attend upon him with the ephod, and inquire of God for him. And whereas

1 Sam. xxx.

De Rep. Heb. lib. i. cap. 14.

1 Sam. ii. 18.

BOOK II. it is said that Samuel ministered unto the Lord, girded with a linen ephod, it is not to be understood as if he wore an ephod of the same sort as the high priest did; for the ephod which the priests or any other persons are said to wear is (for distinction sake) always called an *ephod made of fine linen*, which was not a sacred, but (as I may call it) an honorary vestment, being a short garment hanging upon the shoulders down to the middle of the back, but without any girdle or curious work in it; which, because it bore some resemblance to that of the high priest's, was used by inferior priests, to procure them respect in their ministrations, and by other persons of peculiar excellencies, and upon solemn occasions.

Next after the ephod directions are given in scripture for making the breastplate, called the *breastplate of judgment;* because the high priest wore it when he went to consult the divine Majesty about the great concerns of religion and government, and received such answers as directed them what to determine in dubious cases, either of war or peace. This vestment was a rich piece of cloth of gold, of the length of two spans, and its breadth a span; but being doubled, it was a square of a span both in length and breadth; from whence it follows that it was hollow; so that it may be compared to one of our purses; only it does not appear whether it was sewed together on the sides, or on one side, or open on both sides. Perhaps it was doubled, merely that it might be stronger, to bear the weight of so many precious stones, and of the rings and chains, not that any thing was to be put between it. This piece of cloth was set with twelve precious stones in

four rows, three in a row; and these are called Urim and Thummim, which are eminently mentioned in scripture, and famous for the inquiring by Urim and Thummim, and God's answering by them, the manner of which shall be explained in another place. Under the second temple there was a breastplate made, and Urim and Thummim, that is, there were stones set in the breastplate; but they were never inquired by, because the spirit of prophecy was then departed. Upon each stone was engraven the name of one of the sons of Jacob, and perhaps in the same order wherein they were engraven upon the stones of the ephod, which was according to their birthright. The breastplate had four rings, one at each corner of the square: to the two rings on the upper part of the breastplate was fastened a chain of golden wire, and above, the chain was fastened to the two buttons on the shoulderpieces of the ephod; so that the breastplate was supported by these two chains, which hung upon the buttons, as the breastplate did upon them. Upon the lower corners of the breastplate were likewise two rings of gold; but they were not seen, being placed inward, lying as it were between the ephod and the breastplate: through these two lower rings of the breastplate a blue lace or ribbon was put, and then through the rings of the ephod that was opposite to them; so that the breastplate and the ephod were inseparable, and tied together a little above the girdle of the ephod, and were not to be parted even out of the time of ministration, but always continued so fast together, that the ephod could not be put on without the breastplate; and whoever attempted to divide them was to be beaten

BOOK II.

with forty stripes. Without this splendid vestment the high priest was never to enter into the holy place, except once in a year, upon a particular business, to expiate the sins of the people, when he had not on these pontifical garments, but was only clothed in white linen.

No one was admitted to wear the robe but the high priest. This was a garment coming down to the ankles, made of cloth of a blue or sky colour, called also *the coat of the ephod*, because the ephod did gird it to him. The form of it was in some measure like our surplices, or shirts without sleeves, but with two holes on the sides, to let their arms through; it was put on over their heads, as appears by the hole on the top, which was not cut crosswise from shoulder to shoulder, but longwise from the back to the middle of the breast. This hole had a binding round it which contributed to its beauty and strength, which was not to be sewed to it, but woven with it of one entire piece. Upon the skirts of this vestment towards the bottom, where it touched the feet, were seventy-two little golden bells with clappers, and between every bell was a pomegranate of needle work; and though the robe itself was of one simple colour, yet the pomegranates were made of yarn died blue, purple, and scarlet, and of fine linen. The design of these bells was to give the people notice to fall to their prayers, while the high priest was offering incense; and if he presumed to minister without this attire, it was an illegal act, and unacceptable in the sight of God.

The plate of gold was worn by the high priest alone. This was a thin piece of gold two fingers broad, and so long as to reach from one ear to the

other, being bound to the forehead with a string, which was tied behind the head, and thence was called a *crown*, as all things are which compassed the forehead. Upon this plate was engraven, "Ho-"liness to the Lord," not by cutting the letters deep in the plate, but by making them protuberant, like those that are made by a seal upon wax. This plate hung by a riband of blue, by which it was fastened upon the mitre, and so it hung in the fore-front of it; from whence it is evident that this plate reached from ear to ear before, but no part of it behind, that is, it was an half circle, not a whole, compassing only the forepart of the head, not, like other crowns, encircling it round.

The vestments worn by the high priest in common with the priests of a lower order, were the mitre or bonnet, the coat, the girdle, and the breeches or drawers. The mitre, according to the description of Josephus, was a bonnet without a crown, which did not cover the whole head, but only about the middle of it. It was made of linen, and was a long kind of swaddles of a large breadth, which he wrapped many times about his head, and complicated it in and out. The wrapping or warping of it about his head was after the manner of the Turkish turban, only it wanted a crown, and was open on the top, sitting on his brows after the manner of a garland. The mitre was peculiar to the high priest, though the bonnets of the lower priests were almost of the same form. The difference was, that they came lower down upon the forehead than the mitre, and rose up higher like an hillock: for the mitre did not cover the forehead at all, and was flatter than the bonnets, but much broader, consist-

BOOK II. ing of more folds round, and did not improperly resemble a half sphere.

The coat was made of fine linen, and therefore it was white. The form of it was not much unlike one of our shirts, with sleeves coming down to the wrist, but made pretty close to the body, and so long as to reach down to the heels. It was the most inward of all the priestly garments, being next to the body: and the Hebrew doctors say, that if the high priest happened to have a plaster upon a sore between his inward garments and his skin; or if his garments had a rent in them, or were stained with dirt, or any pollutions, his ministration was invalid, and of no effect. This coat, though it be not mentioned in the description of it, no doubt had a slit in the neck, by which it was put over the head, and then tied about the neck with strings. It was woven in the way of chequer or diced work, like diaper, and was worn by all the priests in their ministration, without any difference; and such a one did the high priest wear whilst he was an ordinary priest.

The girdle was a long swaddle, made of twined linen and worsted of divers colours, which went many times about them over their paps and downward. Such were the girdles of all the priests, which they wore all the year, the high priest as well as the rest, except upon the day of expiation, when he had on a girdle of fine linen only. Josephus asserts (if we may believe him) that these girdles were two and thirty ells long, and four fingers broad, being hollow within, like our modern sashes. When the priests were not in the act of ministration, both ends of them hung down to their very feet, for come-

liness' sake, as the same author expresses it; but when they went about any holy work belonging to their office, they threw them over the left shoulder, that they might be no hinderance to them. The use of this girdle was partly to keep the priests warm in their thin clothing, but principally to strengthen their backs in the hard service they often met with, in tugging with the beasts that they were to slay, and lifting at them when they were killed. CHAP. II.

When it is said, that the chequered coat was next the skin, it is to be understood from the loins upward, and thicker clad were not the ordinary priests, than with that thin diaper shirt, for so we may call it; but upon their thighs they had linen breeches, or drawers, to cover their nakedness, either when they stood upright aloft upon the altar, or when they stooped down to any work of the service, either there, or in any other place. They were bound about the loins with strings, which ran through the top or waistband of them, that they might be drawn straiter or looser as they pleased, and came down the thighs as far as to their knees, the design of them being no more than to cover those parts which ought not to be exposed: for though they had a coat over their whole body, yet that being loose and wide below, by some accident or other those parts might have been seen, which ought to be secret; and though the linen breeches are mentioned in the last place, yet they were put on the first of all the sacerdotal garments. The high priest having put on his breeches, coat, and girdle, (which were common to all priests,) was clothed with his robe, and next with the ephod and breastplate, which were insepa-

BOOK II.

rable, and last of all with his mitre and golden crown.

Thus was the high priest dressed exceedingly magnificent; for besides those vestments that were common to him with all the priests, which were very costly, he had others far more noble, particularly the ephod and its girdle, the breastplate set with stones of great value, the robe, and the crown of gold. The two stones also on the shoulders of the ephod were not only precious in their kind, but valuable for their bigness, being so large, that twelve names were engraven upon them, containing six and thirty letters. Without the holy garments, neither the high priest nor those of a lower order were to appear in their ministrations; and such care was taken that the habit in common to both should be for glory and beauty, that when their vestments were foul, they were never washed; nor were they repaired, when they had any breach in them; but new ones were bought at the public charge, and when they were over-worn, they were returned to the public again, and ravelled to make yarn for candles, that were used for light at the joyful festivity of drawing water, on the last and great day of the feast of tabernacles.

It must be observed, that neither the high priest nor any of a lower order wore any thing upon their hands or their feet in the time of service, but stood barefooted, were it never so cold; and though barefooted, they might not stand upon any thing to keep their feet from the cold pavement, but were obliged to stand barely upon that, were the service never so long, and the season never so sharp. The

reason of their barefootedness was, because of the holiness of the ground; and the cause why they stood only upon the bare stones was, to shew their fervour and zeal to the service.

The high priest being thus arrayed in his sacred habiliments, the next ceremony was his anointing, which was peculiar to himself. The ingredients of this oil were five hundred shekels of pure myrrh, and half so much of sweet cinnamon, two hundred and fifty shekels of sweet calamus, five hundred shekels of cassia, after the shekels of the sanctuary, and of oil olive a hin. The making up of these simples into the compound of the anointing oil was thus: the spices (except the myrrh, which was liquid) were bruised every one apart and by themselves, and then were they mingled, and boiled in clean water, till all their strength was come out into that decoction; which decoction strained, and having oil put to it, was again boiled to the height of an ointment, and so reserved. This anointing oil was only in use in the times of the tabernacle and the first temple; and whilst it continued, the high priests successively were anointed with it. The manner was thus: it was poured upon the top of his head, which was bare, and ran down his face upon his beard; and he that anointed him drew with his finger the figure of the Greek letter *chi* upon his forehead. The reason of the form of the letter *chi* was to distinguish the anointing of the high priest from that of their kings, who were anointed in the form of a circle or crown. The high priest (the Jews say) was anointed by the sanhedrim, and when the oil failed, he was clothed in the pontifical garments. If he were anointed, he

BOOK II. was anointed daily seven days together; and if he were not, (when the holy oil was gone,) he was clothed with the eight vestments of the priesthood, every day, for seven days, and he was called *the installed by the garments.*

These garments the high priest was obliged to wear in his sacred ministrations; but if he went out of the temple, he was bound to unrobe, and use his ordinary apparel, which he wore in common with other men; but upon extraordinary occasions he was permitted to appear abroad in his sacred vestments. Such was the case when Simeon the high priest went out in his holy garments to meet Alexander the Great, and by the solemnity and splendour of his appearance moved the fierce young conqueror to clemency. The high priest, to complete this part of his consecration, was clothed seven days successively in his sacred habit; the design of which repetition was, that he might be introduced into his office with great solemnity and deliberation, and might learn to appear in his dress after a decent, or rather magnificent manner, before he undertook to minister. To preserve these garments, he had a chamber, or vestry, peculiar to himself, where they were laid up when he put them off, as the robes of kings are in their wardrobe. They were afterwards kept by the Asmonean princes, in a strong fortress called *Baris*, which overlooked the temple. Here Herod, when he came to the crown, found them, and here he continued still to keep them in the same place; and so did Archelaus his successor, and the Romans after him; all upon an opinion that their having the pontifical robes in their possession would be a means to keep the Jews

the better in obedience. The custom was, to lay them up in a cabinet made of purpose, under the seals of the high priest and the treasurer of the temple; and when they were wanted for the sacred solemnities, on which days they were used, they exhibited their seals to the captain of the castle, and then had the robes delivered to them; and when the solemnities were over, they were then again laid up under the same seals, in the same place. And this was the practice till the temple, this fortress, and the robes in it, were all destroyed in the deflagration and total destruction of the city of Jerusalem by Titus and the Roman army. The high priest, if he thought fit, might wear these garments every day, even after his ministration was over, provided he did not go out of the temple, or without the outward court; but neither he nor the inferior priests were allowed to sleep in their sacred habits. The vestments peculiar to the high priests descended from father to son; for they did not decay as the tunic and breeches did; but when they were worn out, they were not ravelled into yarn, as the garments were that belonged in common to the high priest and the priests of a lower order; but they were hid in some secret place, and never seen more.

The last rite of consecration that was used upon Aaron and his sons, when they were first set apart, consisted in solemn sacrifices, which were three: the first was an offering for sin; for till their sins were expiated, they were not fit to offer any thing to God, much less to offer for the sins of others. The next was an holocaust, or whole burnt offering, as a gift or present whereby they were recom-

BOOK II. mended to God. And the third was a peace offering, on which they made a feast, and by that were initiated into God's family. And these sacrifices were repeated seven days. There was likewise a meat offering to be offered, bread being necessary at a table where there is flesh; and this oblation consisted of three parts, unleavened bread, unleavened cakes tempered with oil, and unleavened wafers (or thin cakes like to our pancakes) anointed with oil, before they were put into the pan to be fried. All these were to be made of wheaten flour, and in all made but one meat offering: they were to be put into one basket, and brought to the door of the tabernacle, to be presented there to God, together with the other sacrifices. The victim for a sin offering was a bullock, which Moses killed, though he was never consecrated after the manner of Aaron; but was made a priest for this peculiar purpose, by an extraordinary commission. Some of the blood he put upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, as was expressly required in other sin offerings; the rest he poured at the bottom of the altar, where there was a trench to carry it away. The fat that covered the inwards, the greatest lobe of the liver, the two kidneys, and the fat upon them, he burnt upon the altar; but the flesh, and the skin, and the dung, were carried without the camp, where the ashes were poured out and burnt, as a thing abominable. The sacrifice for a burnt offering was a ram, which, after he had sprinkled the blood round about upon the altar, he cut in pieces, and wholly burnt. This would not have been received as a burnt offering, if their sins had not been expiated by the foregoing sacrifice. A ram was likewise ap-

pointed for a peace offering. This was peculiarly called *the ram of consecration*, and the blood of it was not put upon the horns of the altar, (as in the first sacrifice,) nor merely sprinkled round about the altar, (as in the second,) but put upon Aaron and his sons: and first upon the tip of their right ears, to signify (as the Jewish doctors discourse) that they should attend to the divine prescriptions; and then upon their right thumbs and great toes, (in which lies the strength of the hands and feet,) to denote their ready and strenuous performance of their duty: and it being put upon the tip of their right ear, and the thumb of their right hand, and the great toe of their right foot, it may well be thought to signify the most exact and perfect obedience, the right hand being every where represented as the most excellent and strongest to do execution. Some of the blood of this victim was likewise sprinkled upon the altar; and a quantity of it being mingled with some of the anointing oil, was sprinkled upon Aaron and his holy vestments, and upon his sons and their garments; by which rite they were consecrated and separated to a holy use. Then was the fat, the rump, the fat that covered the intestines, the caul above the liver, the two kidneys, and the fat upon them, the right shoulder, one loaf of unleavened bread, one cake, and one wafer of the meat offering above mentioned, put into the hands of Aaron and of his sons; and Moses having his hands under theirs, they were waved by them all up and down all manner of ways, towards the east, west, north, and south, to signify that he, to whom the offering was made, was Lord of the whole world. After they had waved them, they were de-

BOOK II.

livered again into the hands of Moses; who, as priest at this time, laid them upon the altar and burnt them. The breast was given to Moses, as the person officiating and offering the sacrifice; and the shoulder, though in this peculiar case it was burnt, yet did ever afterwards belong to the priest. The flesh of the ram that remained, and the rest of the bread in the basket, was to be eaten by Aaron, and his sons, only, at the door of the tabernacle; which shews that this sacrifice had something peculiar in it from other peace-offerings, that might be carried home and eaten, after God and the priests had had their parts. What they were not able to eat was to be immediately burnt; because this oblation had a more than ordinary sanctity in it. And thus, after these sacrifices and the other ceremonies of consecration had been repeated seven days, was Aaron and his sons set apart to minister in holy things; which rites of initiation were always used before a high priest could enter upon his office: but the sons of Aaron being once consecrated by Moses, by clothing them with the holy vestments which they wore, by sprinkling them with the blood and the holy oil, and offering for them the abovementioned sacrifices, their posterity were never after consecrated; because they succeeded to the priesthood by hereditary right; which necessity of succession, many learned men suppose, was not admitted in the high priesthood.

Outram de Sacrif. lib. i. c. 5.

CHAP. III.

The particular privileges and immunities of the high priest; the manner of inquiring of God by Urim and Thummim.

THE high priest, when he was once installed, generally continued in the office during life. None, says Josephus, was deposed from this honour when he had once obtained it, that is, not by any legal deposition. But towards the decay of the republic this privilege was broken, and high priests were frequently thrust in and out by power and money. In some cases there was no difference made between the high priest and the priests of a lower order; for besides some of the rites of consecration that were common to both, they both burnt incense and offered sacrifices; they blew the trumpets, sometimes to sound an alarm to war, sometimes to assemble the people and their rulers; they slew the sacrifices, they instructed the people, and judged of leprosy. And in some respects there was no difference between him and others of the people: he might be a witness in causes, and might be witnessed against; he might be a judge, and might be judged. If he committed an offence which by the law deserved whipping, the great sanhedrim whipped him, and then he was restored again to his dignity. And several other instances might be mentioned, in which the high priest, in point of law and practice, was upon a level with other men.

Ant. lib. xv. cap. 3.

Godwyn's Moses and Aaron, b. i.

But then in other cases he was guarded with peculiar privileges and honours. To heighten the dignity of his office, he was obliged to marry a virgin, one who was not so much as espoused to any

BOOK II. other person; nor was any sort of virgin thought fit to be his wife, but only one that was newly come out of her minority, and had not yet attained to her full puberty. This (the Hebrew doctors say) is to be understood of the high priest after he was in his office; for if he had married a widow before, (which was permitted to the common priests,) he was to keep her, and not to put her away when he was advanced to the pontifical dignity. It was peculiar to the high priest, that besides other women which no priests might marry, he alone was forbidden to marry a widow. In this law is prohibited not only a woman that had been married; but if she had been merely espoused, it was unlawful for the high priest to take her for his wife. He was not allowed to marry the wife of his brother, to which others were obliged; nor a woman born of a person whom a high priest was forbidden to marry: as, if the high priest had taken a widow, and had a daughter by her, that child might not be married, though a virgin, by a succeeding high priest; but he was to marry a virgin of Israel; and though he was not confined to his own tribe, yet she was to be nobly born, in order to preserve the dignity of his function. It is generally supposed that polygamy was not allowed to the high priest, who was to have but one wife at a time, though other men were permitted to have more: if he took another, he was to give a bill of divorce to one of them before the great day of expiation, otherwise he was uncapable to perform the offices of it; but if his wife died, it was not unlawful for him to marry again.

The high priest was exempt from the common laws of mourning: he was not to let his hair grow

neglected, which was a funeral ceremony, nor was he to rend his clothes; though the Talmudists will have it, as Cunæus observes, that he might rend his garments at the bottom about his feet, but not at the top down to his breast. He was forbidden to go into the house where the body of his father or his mother lay dead, (which was permitted to the inferior priests,) and consequently he was not to make any external signs of mourning for son or daughter, brother or sister. But before his anointing and consecration, and putting on the holy garments, it was not unlawful for him to attend the funeral of his father; and therefore Eleazar was present when Aaron died, being as yet in a lower ministry, and not completely advanced to the high priesthood. If the high priest was in the sanctuary when he heard of the death of his father or mother, he was not to stir from thence till he had finished his ministry; for he had a little house, after the temple was built, within the precincts of it, where he commonly remained all the day-time, which was called the parlour of the high priest. At night he went to his own dwelling-house, which was at Jerusalem, and no where else. There he might perform all the offices of a mourner, (except uncovering his head, rending his clothes, or going into the house where the dead body was,) and there the people came to comfort him; and sitting on the ground, while he sat in his chair, at the funeral feast, they said, "Let us be thy expiation," (that is, Let all the grief that is upon thee fall upon us,) to which he answered, "Blessed be ye from heaven."

Lib. ii. de Rep. Heb. cap. 2.

Sanhed. cap. 2. b. i.

There are other marks of honour bestowed by the Jews upon their high priest. As all the lower

BOOK II.

priests were esteemed holy, he was always accounted the most holy. He was, says Maimonides, to excel the rest of his brethren in five perfections, in the comeliness of his body, in strength, in riches, in wisdom, and in a beautiful complexion; and if the heir of the high priest had all the other accomplishments, and was not the most wealthy among his brethren, it was thought just that so great a personage should be made most rich by the contributions of the other priests. He was only second to the king; and as no person of mean descent or occupation could be advanced to the regal dignity, so neither could he into the high priesthood: and some among the Jews go so far as to say, that the high priest was as valuable as the whole people of Israel. He was never to converse with the commonalty, or shew himself naked to them; and therefore he was to avoid all public baths, and be cautious of going to feasts and entertainments, the better to secure the reverence due to the sanctity of his character. When he went abroad to those that were in mourning, he was always attended by other priests: he was to clip his hair twice a week, but not to suffer a razor to come upon his head: he was to be every day in the sanctuary, and not to go to his house above twice in one day: he was not obliged to give testimony in any cases, but what related to the king, and in those he could not be forced but by the great sanhedrim: he was to have but one wife at one time. When he went into the temple, he was attended by three priests. He was not bound to sacrifice by lot, (as the other priests were,) but might do it as often as he pleased, and take whatever sacrifice he thought fit.

In Chele Mikdasch. cap. 5.

Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. iv.

CHAP. III.

But the greatest privilege and dignity of the high priest consisted in his performing the most holy parts of divine worship. He was the mediator, as it were, between God and the people, to appease the divine anger, and to make atonement for the sins of the whole nation: he was obliged to offer a meat offering every day at his own charges, half of it in the morning, and half at night, which was a distinct offering from that which attended the daily burnt offerings: he alone was permitted to enter into the holy of holies, and that but once in a year, upon the day of expiation; and, upon great occasions, to inquire of God by Urim and Thummim.

Levit. vi. 20.

His office upon the day of expiation will be explained hereafter. Concerning the Urim and Thummim many have been the opinions of learned men; but it seems safest to hold that the words Urim and Thummim signify only a divine virtue and power given to the breastplate of the high priest in its consecration, by which an oraculous answer was obtained from God, when he was consulted by the high priest with it on, in the manner he directed: and this was called Urim and Thummim, to express the clearness and perfection which these oracular answers always carried with them; for Urim signifies *light*, and Thummim *perfection*. These answers were not enigmatical and ambiguous, like the heathen oracles, but clear and evident, and never fell short of perfection, either with regard to fulness in the answer, or certainty in the event. The use made of the Urim and Thummim was to ask counsel of God, in difficult and momentous cases, relating to the whole state of Israel. For this purpose the high priest did put on his robes, and over them the

BOOK II. breastplate in which the Urim and Thummim were, and then presented himself before God to ask counsel of Him. But he was not to do this for any private person, but only for the king, for the president of the sanhedrim, for the general of the army, or for some other great prince or public governor in Israel; and not for any private affairs, but such only as related to the public interest of the nation, either in church or state. The place where he presented himself before God was before the ark of the covenant, not within the veil of the holy of holies, (for there he never entered but once a year, on the great day of expiation,) but without the veil in the holy place; and there standing with his robes and breastplate on, and his face turned directly towards the ark, and the mercy-seat over it, upon which the divine Presence rested, he proposed what he wanted to be resolved about; and directly behind him, at some distance without the holy place, perhaps at the door, (for farther no layman could approach, if he could go so far,) stood the person upon whose account the counsel was asked, whether it were the king or any other public officer of the nation; and there, with all humility and devotion, expected the answer that should be given.

But how this answer was delivered has occasioned great dispute, though it seems plain from scripture that it was given by an audible voice from the mercy-seat, which was within, behind the veil. There it was that Moses went to ask counsel of God in all cases, and from thence he was answered by an audible voice. In the same way did God afterwards communicate his will to the governors of Israel, as often as he was consulted by them;

only with this difference, that whereas Moses, through extraordinary indulgence, had immediate access to the divine Presence, and God did commune with him as it were face to face, no other person was admitted thither to ask counsel of God but through the mediation of the high priest, who, in his stead, asked counsel for him by Urim and Thummim; that is, by presenting himself with his breastplate on, over all his other robes, before the veil, exactly over against the mercy-seat, where the divine Presence rested. And when he thus presented himself in due manner, according to the prescription of the divine law, God gave him an answer in the same manner as he did to Moses; that is, by an audible voice from the mercy-seat; for in many instances which we have in scripture, of God's being consulted this way, the answer in every one of them, except two, is introduced with, *The Lord said.* And when the Israelites made a peace with the Gibeonites, they are blamed, because they did not ask counsel at *the mouth of God;* both which phrases seem plainly to imply a vocal answer. And for this reason it is that the holy of holies, the place where the ark and the mercy-seat stood, from whence this answer was given, is so often in scripture called the *oracle;* because from thence the divine oracles of God were delivered to such as asked counsel of him. It is variously conjectured by learned men when this Urim and Thummim absolutely ceased. It is certain there is no instance of it in scripture during the first temple, and it was wholly wanting in the second. And hence came that saying among the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the Israelites, during the tabernacle, by Urim and Thummim,

BOOK II. and under the first temple by the prophets, and under the second by Bath-Kol.

CHAP. IV.

The deputies of the high priest, the anointed for the wars, and the sagan, or second priest.

THOUGH there was to be but one high priest at a time, yet he sometimes deputed his power, and appointed a substitute; particularly one who went with the armies of Israel to the wars, and carried with him the ephod and breastplate, that he might ask counsel of God by Urim and Thummim in all difficult emergencies that might happen. And for this purpose there was an ark or coffer made, in which the ephod and breastplate were put, and which was carried by the Levites on their shoulders as the ark of the covenant was. That this person might be the better qualified to act in the place of the high priest, and to ask counsel, he was consecrated to the office by the holy anointing oil as the high priest was; and upon that account was called *the anointed for the wars*. But how he received his answer is not so easy to determine. It is certain there was no mercy-seat in the camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the oracle, as there was in the tabernacle; and yet that such oracles were given in the camp is certain, from several instances which we have of it in scripture; for David, by the ephod and breastplate only, asked counsel of God three several times in the case of Keilah, and twice at Ziklag, once in the pursuit of those who had burnt that city, and again on his

1 Sam. xxiii. and xxx. 8. 2 Sam. ii. 1.

going from thence to Hebron, there to take possession of the kingdom of Judah upon the death of Saul; and at all these times he had an answer given him, though it is certain that the ark of the covenant was not then present with him. It is most reasonable to suppose, that since God allowed that counsel should be thus asked of him in the camp without the ark, as well as in the tabernacle where the ark was, that the answer was delivered in the same manner by an audible voice. The priest anointed for the wars, in all probability, had a tent in the camp, on purpose there erected for this use, in which a part was separated by a veil, in the same manner as the holy of holies was in the tabernacle; and that when he asked counsel of God in the camp, he appeared there before that veil, in the same manner as the high priest, on the like occasion, did before that in the tabernacle; and that the answer was given from behind it, though no ark or mercy-seat was there. The office of this priest anointed for the wars was likewise to blow with the trumpets, and to make the following speech at the head of the army when they were preparing to join battle: *Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies: let not your hearts faint, fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them; for the Lord your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save you.* When they first went out, he exhorted all new builders, planters, and married men, to return back; and when they were drawn up in battalia, he advised all that were fainthearted to leave the army and go home. Deut. xx. 3, 4.

The high priest had likewise another deputy, that

BOOK II. was to act for him in divine offices, and in the sacred service of the temple; and this person was called the *sagan*, or *second priest*. He was sometimes called *high priest*, and was the same with the ruler of the temple. The word *sagan* is rarely to be met with in scripture; but both the name and the dignity is very commonly known and used in the Hebrew writers. It is certain that he was vicegerent, and next to the high priest; but under what notion he came into this deputation is disputed. One conjecture about this matter is, that against the day of expiation, when the high priest was to go into the holy place, they appointed another priest who might supply the solemn work of that day, if any uncleanness befell the high priest himself. Josephus gives one example when the duty of the day of expiation was carried on by such a substitute. But this opinion makes the sagan useful but for one week in the year; whereas it appears by the Jewish records that he was in continual office all the year through. Some therefore imagine that the sagan was to succeed the high priests, and, in his saganship, was a candidate for that office; and that no one could be high priest, unless he had been sagan first. But there are two arguments that oppose this opinion: the first is, that the high priests, especially after the time of Herod, were made by the arbitrary power of the governors; and therefore it is to be supposed that they never considered whether they had been sagans or not. The other is, because in all the Old Testament, when the succession to the high priesthood was fair and legal, and it was always known who was to be the succeeding high priest, yet there is no mention of the word *sagan*,

Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 18.

or his office, but in two places, where Zephaniah is called the *second priest*, whom the Chaldee paraphrast calls the *sagan*. Now unless he were the son of Seraiah, which was never imagined, it was impossible for him to arrive at the priesthood, provided the temple had escaped the Babylonian fire and destruction. To discover therefore what the sagan was, and under what notion he came into his office, it is to be observed that he is most commonly called *the sagan of the priests;* from whence it seems that his office related as much, if not more, to the priests below him, as to the high priest above him. And the best conception that can be formed of him is, that he was as the high priest's substitute, in his absence to oversee, and in his presence to assist in the care of the affairs of the temple, and the service of the priests; for though in some particulars his attendance respected the person of the high priest, yet his office also related to the priests below him. And Maimonides observes, that all the priests were at the command of the sagan. His duty to the high priest was to assist him in the execution of his office, especially if the high priest was a man of weak abilities, or other defects, that made him incapable to act himself. For this purpose the sagan was to be a man of learning and experience in the laws and rituals, because he was concerned in the service of the temple. He (as well as the priest anointed for the war) stood at the high priest's right hand, and had as much respect paid him by the inferior priests as the high priest himself.

2 Kings xxv. 18. Jer. lii. 24.

In Kele Mi. Per. 4.

CHAP. V.

The order of the priests, the katholikin, the seven immarcalin, the gizbarin, overseers, presidents, &c.

BOOK II.

THE next in order to be considered are the priests; but some even of these being of a higher rank than others, they shall be spoken of according to their several stations, degrees, and employments they had in divine offices and the service of the temple.

As the sagan was a substitute to the high priest, so he had two substitutes under him, called *katholikin*, who were officers of principal note in the temple, and had but two above them, the high priest and the sagan; and whereas there were three common treasurers of the temple stock, (as will soon be observed,) so these two were head treasurers and overseers over them, in some manner resembling the constitution of the presidents in the Persian empire, where a hundred and twenty princes were set over a hundred and twenty provinces, and three presidents were appointed over all these to take account of them. Maimonides gives this short character of these katholikin: "They were to be to "the sagan as the sagan was to the high priest, "substitutes and assistants, and next in place and "honour." The business of the temple more especially consisted in its service, and the management of its revenue. Now, as there were inferior priests that performed the daily service, and as there were treasurers of a lower order that received the oblations, and whatever was brought into the common

stock, so these four persons, especially the high priest, the sagan, and the two katholikin, were overseers both of the one and the other, that the treasury might be properly disposed for the use of the temple, and that the sacred service might be performed as it ought to be.

To these we may add the seven immarcalin, (for that was their number, and they could be no less,) men whose peculiar office it is difficult to find out; only it is agreed that they carried the keys of the seven gates of the court, and one could not open them without the rest. Some add that there were seven rooms at the seven gates, where the holy vessels and vestments were laid up; and these seven men kept the keys, and had the charge of them. It seems that these seven were perpetual in their office, as well as were the high priest, sagan, and katholikin; and they had the custody of the keys of the court; but the opening and shutting of the doors they committed to inferior officers, to some of the seniors of every course, as it came in; and that they had not only the disposal of these keys, but also the keys of the wardrobes and of the rooms of the several vessels, and were inspectors over them, and had the management of them for the use of the temple.

It was an established tradition that the gizbarin were not to be less than three, and they were as substitutes to the immarcalin. These men were the first receivers and treasurers of all things that belonged and were dedicated to the treasury of the temple, as the half-shekel money of every Israelite, the vessels offered to the service, things vowed or devoted, and the thing vowed or devoted that was to be redeemed; they stated the price of the re-

BOOK II.

demption, and received the money. Now these were as sub-collectors and sub-treasurers, for what they received they were to account for to the seven immarcalin, and both these and the immarcalin to the katholikin, and all under the inspection of the high priest and sagan. These several officers we have described were as a constant and standing council, for the continual management of the service of the temple, and the ministers that belonged to it. They had the charge of the revenue, the vessels, and vestments; and for this purpose they kept their sitting in the chamber of parhedrin. They were called *the consistory of the priests and counsellors of the temple;* but when they grew corrupt, and embezzled the money and the stock of the temple, they had no other title than *parhedroi*, or *sitters*. These may well be supposed to be the elders of the priesthood, to whom the high priest was delivered by the sanhedrim, to prepare him for the right execution of his office upon the great day of expiation.

The next in order were the chief priest of every course that served interchangeably its week.

The chief of every family that served in that course.

Besides these, there were fifteen overseers or presidents over fifteen several companies in so many several employments.

The overseer concerning the times, whose office it was, either himself or by his deputies, when it was time to begin divine service, to publish with a loud voice, "O ye priests, to your service!" "O ye "Levites, to your desks!" and "O ye Israelites, to "your station!" And upon his proclamation they all obeyed, and repaired to their several duties.

The overseer of shutting the doors; by whose order they were opened or shut, and by whose appointment the trumpets sounded when they were opened. He was a person appointed by the immarcalin for this office; for those seven officers had the charge and disposal of the keys of the seven gates of the court.

The overseer of the guards. This officer was called *the man of the mountain of the house.* His business was to go his rounds every night among the guards of the Levites, to see if they kept their posts; and if he found any one asleep, he cudgelled him, and set his coat on fire.

The overseer of the singers. He appointed every day who should sing and blow the trumpets.

The overseer of the cymbal music. As the officer above took care to order the voices, the trumpets, and strung instruments, so this had the management of the music by the cymbal, which was of another kind.

The overseer of the lots. This person, every morning, designed by lots what service the priests were to perform at the altar.

The overseer about birds. His care was to provide turtles and pigeons, that those who had occasion for them might purchase them for their money; and he gave an account of the money to the treasurers.

The overseer of the seals. These seals were such kind of things as the tickets that some clergymen at this time usually give to persons admitted to the sacrament. There were four sorts of these tickets, and they had four several words written or stamped upon them; upon one was a calf, on another a

BOOK II.

male, on a third a kid, and on the fourth a sinner. The use of these tickets was this: when any one brought a sacrifice, to which was to be joined a drink offering, he applied to this overseer of the tickets. He looked what his sacrifice was; and when he was satisfied, considered what drink offering was assigned by the law to such a sacrifice. Then he gave him a ticket, whose inscription was suitable to his sacrifice: as, suppose it was a ram, he gave him a ticket with a male; was it a sin offering, then he had the ticket, a sinner; and so of the others. For this ticket the overseer received from the man as much money as his drink offering would cost; and with this ticket the man went to

The overseer of the drink offerings; whose office was to provide them ready, and deliver them out to every man according to his ticket; for by that he knew what nature his sacrifice was of, and what drink offering it required; and accordingly he delivered it out. Every night this overseer of the drink offerings, and the overseer of the seals, reckoned together, and computed what the one had received, and the other had given out.

The overseer of the sick. His business was to attend upon the priests that were sick, to administer medicines, and was physician to the temple; for the priests serving at the altar barefooted and thin clothed, and eating abundance of flesh, which was not so agreeable in that climate, were very subject to colds and colics, and other distempers; and this officer was appointed to take care of them.

The overseer of the waters; whose office it was to provide that wells, cisterns, and conduits should be digged and made, that there should be no want

of water at the temple, especially at the three great festivals, when the whole people of Israel were to appear there.

The overseer of the making of the shewbread.

The overseer of the making of the incense.

The overseer of the workmen that made the veils.

The overseer who provided vestments for the priests.

CHAP. VI.

The election and induction of common priests, the blemishes and defects that made them incapable of officiating in the priesthood, their qualifications for ministering in sacred offices.

THE succession of the Hebrew priesthood was established in the family of Aaron; the pontifical dignity was fixed in the line of his firstborn: all others of his posterity were priests simply so called, or priests of the second order. The fixed and consistent time for the priests entering into the service was at the age of thirty; but at five and twenty they were probationers, and might do some offices, but not all. Their instalment and admission into the service was in this manner: the great sanhedrim sat daily in the room Gazith, to judge concerning the priests that came to age, and were to be admitted; and if they proved duly qualified, they clothed them in white, and enrolled them among the order, and they went in and ministered; and the great council rejoiced to find them perfect, and blessed God for it with a solemn prayer. But if the person proved to be of the right line, and had

BOOK II.

any of the blemishes which made him incapable of the ministry, he was sent into the woodroom, to worm the wood for the altar, and had his portion in the holy things with the men of the house of his father, and did eat with them.

There are several defects and blemishes taken notice of by the Jews, which rendered a person incapable of officiating in the priesthood, and made his ministrations useless and invalid. The first in the number (as the learned Dr. Outram gives the account) was the sin of idolatry. If a priest fell into this impiety by worshipping strange gods, or burnt incense to the true God in the high places, which was contrary to the law, he was degraded from his sacerdotal character by the king or the civil magistrate, and not permitted to offer sacrifices at God's altar, because he had defiled himself with sinful worship; yet he was not deprived of his subsistence, but permitted to eat of the bread of the priests, and had his share of all other sacrifices that were the portion allotted to the priests.

In Biath Hamikdasch.

2 Kings xxiii. 9.

It was prescribed by the divine law, that Aaron and his sons alone should officiate as priests, in offering sacrifice, in setting the bread upon the holy table, looking after the lights, and burning incense; which offices they were obliged to execute in their own persons, having no power to depute others to minister in their places; and therefore if any one, (though a Levite,) that was not of the Aaronical line, presumed to take upon himself the office of a priest, he was to be punished with death. For this reason the council strictly examined the families of the candidates, and inquired whether they were descended from the right line. If they found them

not truly and completely born priests, they were clothed and veiled in black, and dismissed with the greatest ignominy and contempt. And to preserve the dignity of the sacerdotal race, they took care (says Josephus) that the families of the priests should be preserved pure and unblended. Nothing was secured with greater caution than that the wives they took should by no means stain or defile the priesthood; and from thence came that usual phrase for an excellent woman, "She deserves to "marry with a priest." It was not against the law for a priest to marry with a Levitess, or indeed with an Israelite; but it was always most commendable for him to take a wife of the daughters of Aaron.

Cont. Appion. lib. i.

All incestuous marriages were equally unlawful to priests as to other men; but besides, there were three sorts of persons whom it was forbidden for a common priest to marry, though there was no relation between them. He was obliged not to marry a whore; whereby the Hebrew doctors understand, not only one that was a common prostitute, but one that was not an Israelite, or an Israelitish woman that had been deflowered. Under this notion they included every woman of suspected chastity, every female servant, a captive, and a woman that kept a tavern, or a public house of entertainment; nor was he to marry a profane woman, who was either descended from such a person as is before mentioned, or was born of such a conjunction as is here forbidden to a priest. There are learned men, who suppose that this prohibition may be understood of a woman that had been consecrated to a false deity, whom she served with the use of her body, which she exposed to those who came to worship; who,

Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 10.

BOOK II.

though she afterwards repented and became virtuous, yet a priest was no more to marry her than if she had continued a common whore. But of this construction the judicious reader is to judge. Nor was he to take a woman that had been divorced, because she was of suspected fame. And for the same reason he was not to marry a woman whom her husband's brother had refused to marry after his death. If he did, he was not permitted to minister till he had given such a wife a bill of divorce. He was obliged not to marry a foreigner. An example of this was Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua the high priest; who, marrying contrary to the law the daughter of Sanballat the Samaritan, was commanded either to put her away or not presume to come to the altar; and therefore, to keep the priesthood pure, and to avoid all suspicion of pollution, the names of the priests' parents were carefully preserved in the genealogical tables.

Suidas in voce Ἰησοῦς.

This observation properly introduces a story out of Suidas, which, though of no great credit I am afraid, may yet deserve to be mentioned in this place. One Theodosius, a Jew, in the reign of Justinian the Roman emperor, related to one Philip, a Christian, (who persuaded him to become a Christian also,) as a great secret among the Jewish nation, and known but to very few, that at the time when the temple stood, and while Jesus Christ lived as a private person, a certain priest died at Jerusalem, and the great council met together to choose another in his place; and one naming one, and another another, a certain priest stood up, and named Jesus the son of Joseph the carpenter, as one of an unexceptionable character, whom they knew to be a

man of singular wisdom and integrity; but when it was objected that Joseph was not of the tribe of Levi, but of Judah, and therefore his son Jesus was incapable of the priesthood, it was answered, that he was derived from a stock that was so blended with the tribe of Levi, that he might be admitted; and upon this he was generally approved of, as a person proper to succeed in the place of the priest deceased. Now, because it was the custom to enrol the names of those that were received into the priesthood, and the names of their parents, they called the mother of Jesus to give them an account of the descent; (for Joseph was now dead;) and when she had told them he had no earthly father, but was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and that she bare him, as many could witness who were present at her travail, but that she still remained a virgin; and when they had taken the evidence of some who attended upon her at her delivery, and received testimony from other women, whom they appointed to examine her, that she was still a virgin, they entered the name and parentage of Jesus into their register in these words: "Such a day such a priest "died, the son of such a man and such a woman, "and by the common suffrage there was elected in "his place Jesus, the Son of the living God and of "the Virgin Mary." And this register-book, says this relater, after Jerusalem was destroyed, was preserved by the care and industry of some of the principal Jews, and is now privately laid up at Tiberias. And this story, says Suidas, I had from some that heard it from Philip, to whom it was related.

No person was allowed to minister at the altar, who would bring any disparagement by the least

BOOK II.

blemish in his body upon the divine service. The blind or lame were prohibited; and, though a man was not so lame as to halt, yet if his foot was so broken as to look deformed, he was incapable to officiate, because it rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the people, at least not so graceful as the service of the Most High required. A flat nose made a man unfit for the holy ministrations; that is, the upper part of whose nose was so depressed, that the two eyebrows seemed to meet, and to be but one. If one member was disproportionate to the rest, that is, when one of a man's eyes, or ears, or legs were bigger than the other, or if a man had a fracture in his hand, he was not admitted to act in holy offices. He was disqualified if he was bunch-backed, whether the bunch proceeded from a luxation of the backbone, or from a swelling in the flesh; as he was likewise if he was a dwarf, who, besides that he was despicable, was not able to reach up to the altar. If he had a confused spot in his eye, he was rejected; but this spot, as Selden observes, did not make a priest incapable to minister, unless it was somewhat prominent, which made the blemish more visible. Or if he was scurvy or scabbed, or had his stones broken, (that is, as some understand it, was bursten, or had a rupture,) he was forbidden to officiate. In short, if a man had any manner of blemish, besides these particularly mentioned, he was incapable to serve at the altar; and there being some of them permanent or perpetual, (as they speak,) and others that were transient, which remained but for a time, no man that had a blemish, though only of the latter sort, was to be concerned in the holy offices till it was gone.

If any of them with a blemish upon them did presume to minister, there were different effects of their presumption and contumacy, according to the different kinds of blemishes which they had. And these the Hebrew doctors divide into three classes. The first consisted of such blemishes as made beasts unfit to be offered, as well as priests unfit to minister; the second, of such as only made priests incapable to officiate; the third were such as only made men look illfavouredly. If any man having a blemish of the first sort presumed to minister, it profaned the very sacrifice which he offered, and he was to be scourged. The second sort did not vitiate the sacrifice; but the priest was to suffer the forenamed punishment. The third sort was so inconsiderable, that neither of these effects followed upon his ministering that was blemished by them. But though an unqualified priest might not presume to offer a sacrifice, yet he was allowed to eat with his brethren of the sacrifices allotted them, which no man in his uncleanness was permitted to do; and therefore these natural infirmities were not legal impurities, but only incapacities (as we speak) which disabled them for their office. An unqualified priest was not only forbidden to offer sacrifice, but he was not to go up to the altar of burnt offering, which was in the court of the Lord's house, nor into the sanctuary, where the altar of incense was, but (as was before observed) he was to sit in the wood-room to pick out the wormeaten wood, that it might be laid aside, and not burnt upon the altar. God commanded his ministers, says a learned rabbi, to wear precious vestments, and that none should be admitted into the ministry who had any defect in his

Maimon. More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 45.

BOOK II.

body: nay, they who were deformed and illfavoured were excluded, because the vulgar do not judge according to men's true worth and beauty, (which lies in the soul,) but according to their outward appearance, in the comeliness of their bodies and the richness of their garments; and therefore the end of these precepts was, that the house of God might be had in due reverence and honour.

A person uncircumcised was not to approach the altar to offer sacrifice, for he was accounted a stranger, and unworthy of the ministry. *No stranger*, says the prophet, *uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any stranger that is among the children of Israel.*

Ezek. xliv. 9.

Whoever was defiled with any legal pollution was expelled the altar; the unclean was not permitted to eat of holy things, much less to officiate in them.

The priest that ministers at the altar in his uncleanness is not to be brought before the sanhedrim; but they bring him out into the court, and there brain him with pieces of wood, provided to supply the fire upon the altar.

Sanhed. fol. 81. 2.

If a priest executed his ministry the same day that he had washed himself for a pollution, his ministration was illegal, because he was not to be esteemed clean till the evening, or the setting of the sun.

A priest that wanted an expiation, that is, who, though he had continued the stated time in his uncleanness, yet if he had not performed those sacrifices that were prescribed for his cleansing, had no right to act in divine service.

He was excluded the ministry who was in his mourning. The priests were forbidden to touch a dead body, or (as the Hebrews say) to come within four cubits of it, or to enter into the house where it lay, though it were to take care of the funeral, or to follow the corpse to the grave, or to make any mourning for the dead, because this rendered him legally polluted, and consequently unfit for divine service. But in some exigencies, Maimonides says, a priest might serve, though he were defiled by the dead. His words are at every offering, either of the congregation or of a particular person, the time for the offering of which is fixed, they dispense with the sabbath, and with defiling by the dead only. The sacrifice must be offered in this uncleanness, and the clean and the unclean may be employed about it alike, and they may all go into the court; but those that are unclean with any other uncleanness, may not be employed about the service, nor may they go into the court. A priest was allowed to mourn for his father, his mother, his son, his daughter, his brother, and his sister that was a virgin. And the Jews are so critical as to say, that if a man died in a strange country, where there was nobody to take care of his funeral and see him buried, a priest might do it himself, rather than his body should lie above ground; yet, within the bounds of Palestine, he was forbidden to defile himself for the greatest man in the nation, except his near relations above mentioned. But for these, he was not to follow the superstitious customs of the Gentiles, who, in their mourning for the dead, used to shave their heads, and that round about, and throw the hair into the sepulchre with the bodies of

In Biath. Migdash. Per. 4.

BOOK II.

their relations and friends, and sometimes lay it upon the face or the breast of the deceased, as an oblation to the infernal gods, whereby they proposed to appease those deities, and render them kind and propitious to the dead. A priest was forbidden likewise to shave the corners of his beard. Now there were five corners (as they phrase it) of their beards, one on either cheek, and one on either lip, and one below on the chin; none of which he was to shave, much less all, after the manner of the idolatrous priests, who were used to shave their beards and smite their cheeks at the funeral of their friends. Nor was he to cut his flesh with his nails, or with a knife, or other sharp instruments, in imitation of the heathen, who by these rites thought to pacify the anger of the enraged deities.

Nor was he to rend his clothes, which was a ceremony of mourning in the eastern countries. This was thought so unseemly in a priest when he ministered, that the Jews say, that they whose garments were rent by accident were as incapable of officiating as they who rent them by design. Besides, it was thought indecent for any, that attended upon the divine Majesty, to come into his house in a torn habit.

Nor was he to let his hair grow so long as to cover his face, which was the custom of mourners; that is, he was not to nourish his hair for thirty days. But this law obliged the common priests only in the time of their ministration; but the high priest (whose presence was always necessary in the sanctuary) was not to let his hair grow, but was bound every week to have it cut, even upon the eve of the sabbath.

The priests were forbidden to drink wine, or any liquors in imitation of wine, as mead or metheglin, in the time of their ministration, because it was necessary they should be perfectly sober, in order to make an accurate difference, and to pass a right judgment in every act of their office. At other times they were permitted to drink wine; and, if we may believe the Jews, they did not offend against this precept, if they drank no more than the fourth part of a log, which contained an eggshell and a half. If they exceeded this measure, their ministry, they say, was profaned, and they were liable to death by the hand of Heaven. But if a priest was intoxicated with any other strong liquor besides wine in the time of his service, Maimonides says, his ministratation was not accounted invalid, nor was he obnoxious to death; but he was to be scourged. It is supposed that this injunction was founded upon the miscarriage of Nadab and Abihu, who perhaps had drunk too much wine, which occasioned them to fall into that foul rebellion, and rendered them unable to distinguish between the fire that was holy and that which was not.

The Jerusalem Talmud observes, that the priests of the course, that were in their attendance, were permitted to drink wine in the night, but not in the day; because it might be, that the service of their brethren might be too heavy for the house of the father that was to serve, and they might be obliged to come in and help, which they could not do, if they had drunk wine; but the men of the house of the father, that were to serve, might not drink wine either by day or night. Whoever knew his course, and the house of his father, was forbidden to drink

BOOK II. wine only for that day that his father's house served. He that knew his course, but not his father's house, (which possibly in process of time might be forgotten,) was prohibited wine during the whole week of his ministration.

No priest was to officiate in divine service, if he was not clothed in his proper vestments. If he presumed to minister without his sacred habit, he was to suffer death. A priest, says a learned rabbi, by being clothed in his proper vestment, was invested with the priesthood; but being stript of them, he was stript of his sacerdotal office, and esteemed a stranger; and if a stranger attempted to officiate, he was punished with death.

Nor was he to wear any more garments than were prescribed. The number of them being fixed by God, he was obliged to pay obedience, and not to exceed.

Before a priest entered upon the service of the day, he was obliged to wash his hands and his feet. If he presumed to minister in his uncleanness, such a profanation was punished by death by the hand of Heaven, and the office performed by such a person was without effect. This washing was not to be repeated before every act of ministration; it was sufficient for the service of that day, if the ceremony was once used before it began.

The posture of sitting was not to be used by those who ministered in holy things, being inconsistent with the reverence due to the immortal God. It was a maxim among the Jews, that there was no ministry performed but by a person standing; whoever officiated sitting, was profane, and his service in vain. Not only the priests, but all who worship-

ped in the sanctuary, were obliged to this posture, according to an observation among them, "No one "prays rightly, except he stands."

The ministration of a priest was invalid, if he had any thing between his naked feet and the pavement. Whoever wore shoes was not permitted to come into the sanctuary, much less to minister there.

There is no foundation in the Mosaic law for this practice, nor for what follows.

If a priest had any thing between his bare hands and a sacred vessel which he touched, he served to no purpose; for he was bound to minister with his hands washed, which would have been to no effect, if he had not used them bare in holy offices.

It derived a blemish upon the service, if the priest made use of his left hand for his right; for the right hand of Aaron and of his sons were consecrated by the sacrifical blood, when they were admitted to the priesthood.

These rules and precepts were fixed, as guards and defences to secure the dignity of the priesthood, and the reverence due to the divine service they performed.

No more shall be observed upon this head, but that there was a difference made between a learned priest and an unlearned; for there were some among them who studied and improved themselves in the universities, where they were supported by tithes, and others who wanted school education, and were not esteemed among the learned, nor among such as were devoted to religion; for since the whole seed of Aaron was sacerdotal, and priests were not so much made as born, it is not to be wondered that some ignorant persons were found among them. It

BOOK II. was a caution, therefore, that an oblation was not to be given to an unlearned priest; and the reason alleged is, because whoever gives an oblation to a plebeian or an unlearned priest, does all one as he gave it to a lion; of whom it may be questioned whether he will tread it under his feet and eat it, or not. So it may be doubted of a plebeian priest, whether he will eat in cleanness or in uncleanness. Yet the ministration of such was admitted; and, how illiterate soever, their courses at the altar were fixed according to lot, and they had instructions given them in what manner they should execute their office as they ought to do.

CHAP. VII.

The four and twenty courses of priests; their manner of drawing lots after the Babylonish captivity; the service and division of every course; the ministry of every priest decided by lot; their sacred offices, particularly their form of blessing the people; the sacerdotal garments.

IN order that the service of the temple might be carried on with the greater regularity, the priests were divided into several courses. These courses, many of the Hebrew doctors assert, were first ordained by Moses, and he established eight of them in number, four of the line of Eleazar, and four of the line of Ithamar; then Samuel added eight more, and made them sixteen; and David added other eight, and made them four and twenty. Others are of opinion that Moses ordained sixteen, and that David and Samuel consulted, and added eight more.

But however this may be, it is certain, that the first time the scripture speaks of any courses, it makes mention of four and twenty, and that David was the founder and distributor of them, and their order was appointed by a divine lot. These courses served under the first temple, and continued in their ministry till the Babylonian captivity; but it is generally allowed that no more than four of them returned, namely, Jedaiah, Harim, Pashur, and Immer. The Babylonian Talmud, instead of Harim, names Jojarib. After the return, there was some difficulty to make four and twenty courses out of these four families; and tradition says, that they used this method. They made four and twenty lots, and they wrote the names of the heads of the four and twenty courses upon them, and put them into a lottery box. Jedaiah took out five, which with himself made six; and so did Harim, Pashur, and Immer, which made four and twenty in the whole; and the prophets that were among them conditioned, that though Jojarib came out of captivity, yet he should not drive out the course that was before him. Now the meaning of this tradition is this: by drawing these lots with the names of the heads of the old courses upon them, they only intended to find out what courses of the old names must be made out of every one of these four families; and they did not intend to alter the order of the courses, but to let them run as they did in the ancient round; only the course of Jojarib, which of old was the first, is now ordered to give place to Jedaiah; and the reason is, because Jedaiah was of the family of the high priest, of the house of Joshua, the son of Jozedek; and therefore to him they gave the pre-

Ezra ii. 36, 37, 38, 39.

BOOK II. eminence. The courses being thus divided after the captivity, but ordered and ranked as of old, they increased in process of time, and became numerous, insomuch that every course had a station at Jerusalem, consisting of two thousand four hundred priests, and half a station resided at Jericho; not but that Jericho also was able to have produced a whole station, but because it would give the honour to Jerusalem, it afforded but half. And when any course was to go up to Jerusalem, half the course went up to Jerusalem out of the land of Israel, and half the course went up out of Jericho, which the Babylonian Gemara expresses thus: There were four and twenty courses in the land of Israel, and twelve at Jericho; not that there are six and thirty courses to be supposed, but that the four and twenty were thus divided, that half or more of every course constantly resided at Jerusalem and about it, that they might be always ready to enter upon the service, when the time of their course came; and the other part or half of every course was dispersed up and down through the whole country; only at and about Jericho there was constantly a great number of every course residing, as the others did at Jerusalem, who, when the week of their course came, went up either to help their brethren of the course in their service, or to assist to buy provision for them while they served. As for the rest of that course, that were neither at Jerusalem nor at Jericho, but dispersed up and down the country, they and the Levites, and the stationary men that belonged to that course, assembled in their synagogues, as they had convenience, and fasted and prayed, and read the law, and supplicated that the service of

their brethren, now ministering at Jerusalem, might be accepted in the sight of God.

As the courses were every one of them thus divided, in regard to place and attendance, so was every one of them also distinguished into degrees. There was first the head of the course, who was president over them all, and represented that eminent person from whom the course received its name. Most of these presidents, no doubt, were members of the great sanhedrim; and though in the affairs of the temple the sagan, katholikin, immarcalin, and gizbarin were superior to them, yet in this great council they were all equal; and these are those so frequently mentioned in the gospel by the name of *chief priests*. There were likewise the heads of the houses of their fathers. The president of the course divided the course so regularly among the houses of the fathers, that every house or family might serve its day; and those that were in these several families, under the head of the house of their father, were called *private* or *ordinary priests*. Every one of these courses ministered their week, from sabbath to sabbath. That course which went out, did not depart till the sabbath was over; and that which came in, entered when it began: they served only a week at a time, and so their attendance was required twice in the year. The ministry of every course was divided in this manner: the course that contained five houses of fathers in it, three served three days, and two served four; that which had six houses of fathers in it, five served five days, and one served two; that which had seven houses of fathers in it, they served every one their day; that which had eight houses of fathers in it, six served

BOOK II. six days, and two one day; that course which had nine houses of fathers in it, five served four days, and four served two.

Deut. xviii. 6. This was the order in which the service of the temple was regularly fixed; yet this did not hinder but that a private priest might devote himself to the perpetual service of God in the sanctuary; which obliged him to attend constantly upon the service, though it was out of his course: and the priests who were in waiting were bound to allow him the same portion of the sacrifices which they had themselves. He was permitted likewise to sell his estate in the country, if he had one, and keep the money to himself, without dividing it with other priests that ministered with him: for though the priests had no share in the land of Canaan given them at the division of it, yet they might purchase houses and goods and cattle; and sometimes they bought fields,

1 Kings ii. 26. as Abiathar had an estate of his own at Anathoth,

Jer. xxxii. 7, 8. and the prophet Jeremiah, who was a priest also, purchased a field of his uncle's son in his own town.

As the courses of the priests were decided by lot, so every particular priest had his office appointed him by the same method. The lot determined who should attend the altar of incense, who should feed the fire, who carry out the ashes, and all other parts of the service. The place where this was done was, under the second temple, in the building called Gazith, in that part of it that stood within the court. Hither the priests came: they all stood round, and concluded to count a certain number, as threescore, fourscore, a hundred, or what they agreed upon. Then the president of the lottery took off one of

their caps, and put it on again; and "here," said he, "will I begin to count; now put up your fin-"gers." Then they put up their fingers, one, or two, or three, as they pleased; and he began at him whose cap he had taken off, and told the fingers that were held up round: he at whose fingers the tale or sum agreed upon was up, was the person upon whom the lot fell; to him the particular service belonged for which the lot was cast; and it was a standing canon, that if one priest intruded into the place of another, he was to die the death. The first lot that was cast was to determine who should cleanse the altar of burnt offering from its ashes. They had used to run and scramble for this service, and the first that came to the altar did it: but, besides the irreverence and indecency which this custom carried with it, there once happened an accident which made them alter this practice; for one of the priests, rushing and shuffling for this employment, was thrust down by his fellow from the rise of the altar, and broke his leg. This misfortune occasioned the sanhedrim to ordain that the business should be done with more calmness and decency; and therefore they decreed that the lot should appoint whose office it should be, and the decision was final, and not to be reversed.

The sacred offices to be performed by the priests, in their several ministrations, will more fully appear when we come to treat of the religion and sacrifices of the Hebrews. In this place it will be sufficient to observe, that it was the proper office of the priests to bless the people. The benediction was to be pronounced by the priest, standing so that he might be seen, with his hands lifted up and spread, and speak-

BOOK II.

ing with a loud voice, with his face towards the assembly. This was the form of the blessing, as it was established by God himself: *The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* When this benediction was said in the sanctuary (if we may believe the Jews) it was but one, and pronounced without any pause, the people keeping profound silence; but out of the sanctuary (in their synagogues) they made three of it, the priest pausing at the end of every verse, and the people saying Amen to each of them. In the sanctuary also they pronounced the name Jehovah, which is here thrice repeated; but in their synagogues they used some other name instead of it. They think it utterly unlawful to add a fourth benediction to these three, though they find one in this form: *The Lord God of your fathers make you a thousand times so many more as you are, and bless you, as he hath promised you.* The divine blessing was always supposed to depend upon the blessing of the priest; which they thought so necessary, that such priests as were admitted to no other service might perform this, lest the people should at any time want it: and it was a maxim, that the blessing pronounced by a priest who had some blemish in his body was always to be accounted lawful. There is nothing performed among the Jews with such solemnity, and in which they place so much sanctity, as in this solemn benediction. And at this day, they that are of the family of Aaron go up to the steps which lead to the place where the book of the law is kept, and, lifting up their hands as high as their heads,

Numb. vi. 24, 25, 26.

Deut. i. 11.

pronounce the blessing in their synagogues upon the assembly: and they still observe the old custom, which, they say, was not only to lift up and spread their hands, but then to join them together by the thumbs and the two fore-fingers, dividing the others from them. When the blessing is delivered, all the people cover their faces, believing they would be struck blind if they should look up, because the divine Majesty at that time sits upon the hands of the priest; which shews, not only how laborious they have been to maintain an opinion in the people's minds that God is still as much present with them in their synagogues as he was anciently in their tabernacle and temple, but also how high a value they set upon the divine blessing, pronounced regularly by his ministers.

It was likewise the employment of the priests to keep watch within the temple, as the Levites did without. Theirs was the business of sacrificing, with all its rites, in all offerings upon the altar of burnt offering, and the whole service of the holy place. The government of the sanctuary and of the house of God lay upon them. They set the new prepared shewbread upon the golden tables within the sanctuary every sabbath, and removed the old. They ordered the lamps of the golden candlesticks every morning. They kindled the daily incense, to make a sweet perfume in the temple at the time of the dressing of the lamps, that the stench of that work might not be offensive. They were the unappealable judges of leprosy, and jealousy between man and wife. They blew the trumpets to the solemn feasts, and also before the ark at its solemn removals. Their office was to go along with the cap-

BOOK II.

tains of the battle in war, with their silver trumpets before the battle, as appears evidently from many places of scripture. They were to look to the burning of wood continually upon the brazen altar, that the fire once fallen from heaven might never be extinguished. Their business was to make the holy ointment with the appointed spices; to preside in the public schools and universities, and to instruct the people in the divine law.

It will be unnecessary to be very particular in speaking of the holy garments that were worn by the ordinary priests in the time of their ministration, since the vestments of the high priest have been described in another place; who, besides others peculiar to himself, was clothed with the same garments as were common to priests of a lower order. However, it may be useful to observe, that the sacerdotal habit, worn in the time of divine service, was peculiar for that place and occasion, and differed from the apparel they ordinarily made use of. Some Jews are of opinion, that there were such priestly garments before the delivery of the law; and they speak of such bequeathed from father to son in the holy line, even from Adam to Isaac; and they think that the vesture in which Jacob obtained the blessing was of this nature. But these are subtleties too nice to inquire after. The priests, when they came up in their courses to minister, put off their ordinary wearing clothes, washed themselves in water, and put on the holy garments. Whilst they were at the temple, and attending there upon the service, they were not to sleep in the sacred habit, but in their own wearing clothes; and in the morning, when they went to their ser-

vice, they put off their own clothes, bathed themselves in water, and then clothed themselves with the garments of the priesthood. These vestments were made of white linen, and were four. Upon their thighs and loins they wore linen breeches, to prevent the discovery of their nakedness, either when they stood upright upon the altar, or stooped down to any part of the service there, or in any other place. Upon their bodies they wore a linen coat, or surplice, that was wrought like diaper, or some such kind of work, which made it look neat and uncommon. This coat was girt to them with a long scarf, which went many times about, and not only contributed to keep them warm, but to strengthen their backs in the time of their service. Upon their heads they wore a bonnet, which was likewise a scarf made of linen, and went many times about. The Jews say that the priests might wear all these vestments so long as they stayed in the temple, though their service was over, except the scarf that was used about their waist, which they were to lay aside when their ministry expired. These garments were kept in a proper apartment, where every course of priests had four distinct conveniences for their several vestures. They were provided at the public charge; and when they were worn out, they returned to the public again: they were ravelled to make yarn for lights, to be used at the solemnity of the feast of tabernacles, and perhaps for candles in the priests' chambers.

CHAP. VIII.

The revenue of the Hebrew priesthood; the payment of firstfruits; the redemption of the firstborn, and the firstlings.

BOOK II. THE revenue which supported the priests was suitable to the dignity of the sacred offices in which they were concerned. They had thirteen noble cities allotted them in the first distribution of the Holy Land, which were situated near the city of Jerusalem, and, for the most part, within the borders of the royal tribe of Judah: and for their maintenance, the Mosaic law enjoined, that the firstfruits, firstlings, the tithe, oblations, and other advantages, should be regularly paid them; by which means the Levitical priesthood lived honourably, and preserved their character above contempt among the people.

The use and end of offering the firstfruits was, that in them the after-fruits might be consecrated. To this purpose the Hebrews were commanded to offer the firstfruits of all manner of trees that contributed to the support of human life; and the order they observed was this: the three first years after the tree had been planted, the fruits were esteemed uncircumcised and unclean; and therefore they plucked off the buds, when they put forth, that they might not grow into fruit; or if any by chance did, they threw them away, as unfit for use. But this method was observed only with regard to such fruit-trees as they planted after they came to Canaan, not to such as they found there already planted: and it was the same thing whether a man planted the trees himself, or bought an orchard, or a vineyard, or any

plantation, of another Israelite, or had it left him as an inheritance, or bestowed upon him as a gift; the three first years the fruit was unholy, and not to be eaten, or sold, or made advantage of. In the fourth year it was to be offered as the firstfruit to God, and eaten by the priests; yet some say it was to be eaten by the owners, before the Lord, at Jerusalem, (when his dwelling was settled there,) as they eat the second tithe. After the fourth year the fruit returned to the use of the owner. And these may be called simply *the firstfruits.*

The firstfruits of every year's increase were likewise to be paid yearly. And of these there were many sorts: there were the firstfruits *in the sheaf,* as they are called, and the first-fruits *in two wave loaves:* and these two bounded their harvest. That in the sheaf was offered in the beginning of barley-harvest. When the passover began, a sheaf of barley was brought unto the priest, who offered part of it to God, and the rest he had for his own use. The manner of offering and gathering this oblation is thus described by the Jews: Upon the evening of the first day of the passover week, some persons were commanded by the sanhedrim to take sickles and baskets, and go out, when it was dark, into the ashes-valley of the brook Kedron, and (having a great company with them) to cut a sheaf of corn, which they brought into the court of the temple, and parched it; and having ground it, they sifted it often (no less than thirteen times) till it was very fine flour: after which, they took out a tenth-deal (an homer, which was the tenth part of an ephah) and brought it to the priest, who took out a handful, and put it upon the altar, with oil and frankin-

Levit. xxiii. 10, 17.

BOOK II.

cense; and what remained he had for himself. The sheaf was to be waved before the Lord, to procure his blessing upon the rest of the harvest; for it was not lawful to reap, nor to eat any of the fruits of the earth, till the firstfruits were offered to the donor of them. This oblation was attended with a special offering of a he lamb without blemish, besides the daily burnt sacrifice; and there was added a double meat offering of fine flour, in honour of the day, which was a kind of festival; and a drink offering followed, which consisted of no more than the usual quantity, because this was a thanksgiving for their corn only, and not for their vintage, which came afterwards.

See Levit. xxiii. 17.

The firstfruits in *two wave loaves* were the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and were offered upon the Jewish pentecost. These oblations seem to have been offered at a common charge, in the name of the whole nation; for to affirm, as some do, that two loaves were to be brought out of every house, or at least out of every town, is absurd. This offering was made of fine flour baked with leaven; and therefore was not burnt upon the altar, for that was unlawful, but wholly given to the priests. This bread of the firstfruits, with the other sacrifices that were offered upon this solemnity, was waved by the priest, who reached them out upward and downward, this way and that way, towards the six quarters of the world, to shew that *the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;* or, as a learned rabbi observes, that they might understand the providence of God is every where, above and beneath, in every corner of the world.

Before any bread was made of the corn of the

land, a cake was first made out of the dough, consisting of a four and twentieth part, which was heaved; and then (as all heave offerings were) it was given to the priests. They were likewise to pay to the priests the firstfruits of the threshing-floor. This oblation was distinguished by the rabbies into two sorts; the first of these was the firstfruits of seven things only, wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates. These the Talmudists call by the name of *biccurim*, which signifies *the choicest part*, or what was first ripe. The owner might bring in what measure he pleased; but in gathering, he always bound the portion he designed for the priests about with rushes, and said, "Let this be for the firstfruits:" and these, they say, are the firstfruits which the people are so often commanded in the Law to bring up to the sanctuary at the feast of pentecost, at which time their harvest ended. The second was paid of corn, wine, and oil, and whatever else was for the support of human life. This was called *therumah*, which signifies *a heave offering*. The Hebrews called this second payment sometimes *the great heave offering* in comparison of that tithe which the Levites paid to the priests; for that was called *the heave offering of the tithe*, which though it were one of ten, in respect of that portion which the Levites received, yet it was but one of a hundred, in respect of the husbandman's stock who paid the Levites: and thus it was a great deal less than the great heave offering, as will presently appear. This, they say, the owner was not obliged to bring up to Jerusalem; but the priests were to take it at the barn and the wine-press. Under this kind of firstfruits is in-

BOOK II.

cluded the first of the fleece; and though the quantity is not mentioned, yet the Jews have always determined, that less than one fleece in sixty was not accepted; for so they say of all other firstfruits, that a sixtieth part of the whole was the least that any man gave, and he was accounted a covetous man if he gave no more. This proportion is founded upon the command of the prophet Ezekiel; which was, that the oblation should be the sixth part of an ephah out of an homer, that is, the sixtieth part of the whole; for an homer contains ten ephahs. They that were indifferently good gave a fiftieth part, and liberal persons the fortieth. By this means the priests were provided with clothes, as by other offerings with food: and the wool also, as they call it, of goats (which were shorn in those countries) is included under the fleece of sheep.

Ezek. xlv. 19.

When the people brought up their firstfruits to Jerusalem, it was done with great pomp and ceremony. The manner is thus expressed in their own words: "After what manner did they bring their "firstfruits?" All the cities that were of one station (that is, out of which one course of priests proceeded) were gathered together into a stationary city, and lodged in the streets: in the morning, he who was the first among them said, *Arise, let us go up to Zion, to the house of the Lord our God.* An ox went before them with gilded horns, and an olive crown upon his head, for a peace offering, (which was to be eaten by the males among the priests in the court of the sanctuary,) and the pipe played before them, until they approached near to Jerusalem. When they came to Jerusalem, they crowned their firstfruits, (that is, they exposed them

Talmud in Biccurim, c. 3.

to sight in as much glory as they could,) and the chief men, and the high officers, and treasurers of the temple came to meet them, to do them the more honour that were coming; and all the workmen in Jerusalem rose up to them, (as they were in their shops,) and saluted them in this manner; "O our "brethren, inhabitants of the city *N*, ye are wel- "come." The pipe played before them till they came to the mount of the temple: every one, even king Agrippa himself, took his basket upon his shoulder, and went forward till he came to the court. The Levites sang, *I will exalt thee, O Lord; be-* Ps. xxx. 1. *cause thou hast exalted me, and hast not made mine enemies to rejoice over me.* While the basket is yet upon his shoulder, he recites that passage, *I profess* Deut. xxvi. 3, 5. *this day to the Lord my God.* When he speaks these words, *A Syrian ready to perish was my father*, he casts down the basket from his shoulders, and holds his lips, while the priest waves it hither and thither. The whole passage being recited to the tenth verse, he places the basket before the altar, worships, and goes out. They used to hang turtles or pigeons about their baskets, which were adorned with flowers; and those they designed as an offering. The fruits themselves belonged to the priests of the course that were then in service, and the party who brought them was obliged to lodge in Jerusalem all the night after he had presented them; and the next morning he was allowed to return home. The firstfruits were not to be offered before the feast of pentecost, nor after the feast of dedication.

The redemption of the firstlings, or firstborn, raised a great revenue for the support of the priests. The law was, that all that opened the matrix, both

BOOK II. of man and beast, being males, were to be set apart from the rest of that kind of creatures, and separated for sacrifice. Now because God had no pleasure in human victims, the firstborn of men were to be redeemed at the price of five shekels: the money was due at a month's end, but was seldom paid till the fortieth day, when the woman was purified. The Jews observe, that this was done to the firstborn, but had no regard to the children that were born afterwards: nor was this done to the firstborn, unless the firstborn (as they speak) was fit for the priest; for they distinguish between a firstborn fit for inheritance, and a firstborn fit for the priest; that is, if the firstborn should be any ways maimed, or defective in any of his parts, or had any kind of spot or blemish in him; this was no hinderance to his inheriting, but yet it made him incapable of being consecrated to God, and therefore he had no occasion to be redeemed. The law of Moses allowed no unclean beast to be used in sacrifice; and therefore the firstlings of such were to be redeemed with a lamb, which was to be sacrificed. If a man had not a lamb, he was to give the price of one; and because all lambs were not of an equal value, the rabbies remark, that a good eye, that is, a liberal man, gives a shekel; an evil eye, half as much; and a middle sort of men gave three quarters. If the owner thought fit to redeem it, he was to do it within thirty days; if not, he was to break the neck of it, or destroy it one way or other, that it should never be used. The firstlings of clean beasts were to be sacrificed, their blood to be sprinkled upon the altar, their fat to be burnt for a burnt offering, and their flesh to return to the priests.

But before a firstling was admitted for sacrifice, it was first examined by an officer appointed by the president of the sanhedrim, or (as they speak) by a sanhedrim in the land of Israel, of men ordained, whose business it was to determine whether it was fit to be offered or not. He received a power for this office from the head of the court, who said to him, " Have thou authority to loose firstlings con- " cerning blemishes;" that is, to determine what blemishes were sufficient to exclude a firstling from being sacrificed. This officer was called *mumcheh:* without his inspection and order no firstling was to be killed; upon his approbation it was brought to the temple, through the gate called *the gate of the firstlings*, and then slain on the south side of the altar.

CHAP. IX.

An account of the Hebrew tithe; the first, second, and third tithe; the tithing of cattle.

THE priests had no share allowed them in the division of the land, except a number of cities, with their suburbs, that they might attend wholly upon divine service, and not have their thoughts diverted by the business of tillage, or feeding cattle, or any other secular employment: and, indeed, had they had any portion of lands bestowed on them there had been too great an inequality between them and the rest of the tribes of Israel; for the firstfruits alone, if they had not been less than the sixtieth part of the product of the country, might seem a sufficient maintenance, especially if the firstlings be

BOOK II. added, the priests not being the sixtieth part, nor the hundredth part, as learned men have computed. But besides the plentiful allowance above-mentioned, they had the tenth part of the tithe given to the Levites. Now to describe particularly the nature of the Jewish tithe, it will be proper to inquire first what things in the general were tithable; secondly, how many kind of tithes there were; and thirdly, the time when each sort of tithe was to be paid.

Their yearly increase, out of which tithe was to be paid, was either of cattle, fruits of the trees, or fruits of the land. Of all these they paid tithes, even to mint, anise, and cummin. The sorts of tithes paid out of the fruits, both of the trees and the land, by the husbandman, were two, and paid in this manner: when the harvest was ended, and all gathered, the owner laid aside the firstfruits of his threshing floor; then out of the remainder he paid a tenth part to the Levites. This was called *the first tithe*, and it is supposed was always paid in kind, in the several cities of tillage, and not brought up to Jerusalem. It may be impossible, perhaps, to give a direct reason why a tenth part precisely was assigned to the Levites: the answer among the Jews is generally, because it was a perfect number, ten being, in simple numbers, the highest to which we can rise, without repeating the numbers under it; for it is (as they speak) the beginning of the second combination, and the end of the first, whereupon all numbers do depend; which our learned Mede has expressed, in my judgment, far better: who looks upon it as God's favourable dealing with men, in requiring but the tenth, which is in truth

Discourse of Sacrilege.

the least part of their goods, according to the first division; for when we proceed beyond ten, we begin to make a new division, as eleven is ten and one. But we need not have recourse to such niceties; it seems more reasonable to think that the Hebrews had a divine direction for this number, as they had for sacrificing. And it may be further observed, that what they gave to their kings was the tenth part, as well as what they paid to God. Nothing was more common among the Gentiles than tenths paid to their kings, and that very anciently; for it appears from Samuel, that it was part of the *jus regium* among the people of the east. Aristotle himself mentions it as an ancient law in Babylon; and it was also used in Athens, which was a republic; and it was likewise paid among the Romans.

1 Sam. viii. 14, 15.

Out of the first tithe the Levites paid a tithe, or tenth portion to the priests. This tithe is thought by some very learned persons to have been designed for the high priest alone, the better to support the dignity of his office, and the honour of his family; especially considering that the inferior priests had a noble maintenance without this, from firstfruits and offerings of the people. But Josephus, and the generality of the Jewish writers, directly oppose this conjecture; not but that the high priest had a principal portion in this second tithe paid by the Levites, but the priests had their share likewise. If it should seem strange that the high priest had no direct provision made for him suitable to his character, let it be considered that the revenue of the priests belonged to him, so far as to afford him an honourable maintenance; and he had this privilege

Spencer de Leg. Heb. Rit. l. iii. c. 10.

Archæol. l. vi. c. 4.

BOOK II.

also, that he did not minister by lot, as the other priests did in their several courses, but when he pleased: and besides, he had the liberty to take to himself what sacrifices he thought fit to offer. This tenth was called *the tithe of the tithes*, and *the tithe of holy things;* and that the priests might have their full due, one of them was appointed to be with the Levites when they took their tithes, to take care of the concerns of the whole order of the priesthood, and see that they were not injured in their right.

The Levites were likewise obliged to offer to the priests a portion of the increase of whatever they possessed of their own, of the fields, for instance, which were in the suburbs of their cities, and that not of the refuse, but of the choicest part. When they had paid their tithe and their offerings, the remainder might be eaten by them and their families in any place, even out of Jerusalem: and indeed it was but reasonable that the priests should have this honourable provision made for them above the Levites, their vocations being of more importance, and their service more noble, in the very sanctuary itself.

The first tithe being paid, the owner paid out of that which remained a second tithe. This the husbandman paid in kind, if he pleased; or, if he would, he might by way of commutation pay the value of it in money; but if he did, he was obliged to add a fifth part, so that what in kind amounted to ten in the hundred, when it was changed into money came to twelve. But this privilege of exchange was allowed to none but such as lived above a day's journey from Jerusalem; and that it might be cer-

tainly known what a day's journey was, the places at that distance were fixed from every quarter of the city. This the husbandman brought up to Jerusalem, and made a kind of love-feast with it, to which he invited the priests and the Levites; only every third year he brought it not up, but spent it at home within his own gates, upon the Levites, the fatherless, the widows, and the poor. They reckoned their third year from the sabbatical year on which the land rested; so that the first and second tithe was paid by the husbandman the first, second, fourth, and fifth years after the sabbatical year; but upon the third and sixth years only the first tithe was paid to the Levites, and the second was spent at home: from hence therefore it obtained the name of *the second tithe;* and because it was paid to the poor every third year, it is called *the poor man's tithe*, and *the third tithe.* Upon those years on which it was carried up to Jerusalem, it was necessarily to be eaten within the court of the temple: and by *the third tithe* we are to understand *the poor man's tithe* on the third year, which year is called *a year of tithes.* The Jewish tradition gives this account of the manner and measure of tithes: of bread-corn, that was threshed and winnowed, a fifth part is taken out for the priest. This was called *the great offering* A tenth part of the remainder belonged to the Levite: this was called *the first tenth*, or *tithe.* A tenth part again was to be taken out of the remainder, and was to be eaten at Jerusalem, or else redeemed: this was called *the second tithe.* The Levite gives a tenth part out of his to the priest: this was called *the tithe of the tithe.*

There was a tithe of cattle paid yearly, as an

BOOK II. eucharistical sacrifice, of calves, lambs, and kids, which were the clean beasts that were allowed in sacrifice. The manner of this tithing, if we believe the Jews, was thus: they were all brought into a sheepcote, or fold, in which there was but one gate, or door, and that so narrow, as to suffer no more than one to come out at once. Their dams being placed without, and the gate opened, their young ones were invited, by their bleatings, to press to get out to them; and as they passed by, one by one, a man, who stood at the gate with a rod coloured with ochre, told them in order; and when the tenth came out, whether it was male or female, sound or not, he marked it with his rod, and said, "Let this "be holy in the name of the tenth." Thus they expound that part of the Law, *Whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy.* And so fond are they of this conceit, that they make Jacob (who vowed the tithe of all that God should give him) to have decimated his children in this manner, beginning at Benjamin, and stopping at Levi, who was the tenth, according to this reckoning. But this opinion is exploded by expositors of note, who understand by the phrase that all cattle are tithable which live under the custody of a keeper, as if there were allusion to the shepherd's crook or keeper's staff; for the flock passed under his rod as often as he numbered them, which a good shepherd never failed to do every evening. This tenth was to be sacrificed; the fat and the blood was offered at the altar, and the flesh, according to some, was eaten by the owner in any part of Jerusalem; though others, with more reason, conclude that the priests and Levites had a share in these oblations. The calf, goat,

or lamb, thus tithed, though never so lean or blemished, was not to be redeemed, or exchanged for a better; and if any one presumed to sell it, he was to be scourged.

The time of the year for the payment of tithes was different: for beasts they reckoned from August to August; for grain, pulse, or herbs, from September to September; and for the fruit of trees, from January to January.

This injunction concerning tithes, by degrees, was esteemed a great burden by the people; insomuch that in the reign of Hezekiah tithes began to be generally neglected; and notwithstanding overseers were appointed to look to the payment of them, yet either through the neglect of these officers, or the covetousness of the people, about a hundred and thirty years before the incarnation, corruption so prevailed, that none, or very few, paid either the first, second, or poor man's tithe; only they paid the great heave offering. Justly, for this reason, says Moses Kotsensis, in the days of John the Priest, who succeeded Simeon the Just, (I suppose he means Johannes Hyrcanus,) the sanhedrim decreed that more faithful overseers should be appointed over the tithes. At this time many things became questionable whether they were tithable or no; so that the court ordained that in things doubtful, though they paid neither first nor poor man's tithe, yet they should pay a second tithe, and a small heave offering; that is, one part of a hundred. Mint, anise, and cummin seem to have been of these doubtful things, of which though the court required but one in the hundred, yet the pharisees would pay a just tenth; and in this they exceeded the rest of

2 Chron. xxxi. 13.

Fol. 199. col. 3.

BOOK II.

the people, who in these payments took the liberty granted them by the sanhedrim. The present Jews, who pretend to religion, though they have neither country nor priesthood, yet distribute, in the room of tithes, the tenth of their increase to the poor, being persuaded that it would derive a blessing upon their estates: for their usual proverb is, "Pay "tithes, that thou mayest be rich." I shall only add upon this subject, that tithes were granted to the priests and Levites, not only when they ministered at the altar or in the temple, but when they studied in the universities, and preached in the synagogues; and the tradition is, that if any money was found in the streets of Jerusalem, which were swept every day, it was always reckoned as tenth, or tithe, and belonged to the priests.

As the priests had assigned them yearly the first-fruits of the whole country, and the tenth part of the tithe paid to the Levites, and all freewill offerings, and all the firstlings of cows, sheep, and goats, and the redemption money for the firstlings of such creatures as were unclean; so they had all the meat offerings, offerings for sin, and trespass offerings, together with the breast and shoulder of all peace offerings, and the skins of all burnt offerings, (which alone, as Philo observes, was a great revenue,) and the loaves made of the first dough, and the shew-bread; and, as Josephus relates, a considerable part of every beast that was killed for private use. A learned countryman of our own has, in a narrow compass, given a good view of the revenue that was settled by the Mosaic law upon the Levitical priesthood. His account is concise, and therefore shall be transcribed in this place.

Heylin, Undeceiving of the People in point of Tithes.

They had, says he, besides tithes, (whereof more anon,) the firstborn of mankind, and all unclean beasts, which were redeemed at the rate of five shekels apiece, amounting in our money to twelve shillings and sixpence; and of the firstlings of clean beasts, their blood being sprinkled on the altar, and the fat offered for a burnt offering, the flesh remained unto the priests. They had also the firstfruits of wine, oil, and wool; yea, of all things else which the earth brought forth for the use of man: the firstfruits of the dough, the meat offerings, the sin offerings, the trespass offerings, the shake offerings, the heave offerings, and the shewbread; as also of all eucharistical sacrifices, the breast and the shoulder; of others, the shoulder and the two cheeks, and the maw; and of the whole burnt offering they received the skin. Then add, that all the males of the tribes of Israel were to appear thrice yearly before the Lord, and none of them came empty-handed; and that if any had detained any thing in part, or in whole, which was due by law, he was to bring a ram for an offering, to make good that which was detained, and to add a fifth part to it in the way of recompense. Besides, these duties were brought in to the priests and Levites without charge or trouble: and if any for their own use desired not to pay in kind, but to redeem the same for a sum of money, the estimation of the due was made by the priest, and a fifth part added, as before, for full satisfaction. In a word, such and so many allowances had the priests and Levites, that, setting by the tithes of their corn and cattle, and of all manner of increase, their maintenance had far exceeded that of the English clergy; and adding unto these the tithes

Numbers xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18.

Deut. xviii. 4. Levit. ii. 3. and vii. 5, 7. Numb. xv. 20, 21. Levit. vii. 8, 33, 34.

BOOK II.

of all creatures tithable, it doth more than double it; for in the payment of their tithes by the Lord's appointment, there was not only a full tenth of all kinds of increase, but such an imposition laid on all kinds of grain, that came to more than a sixth part of the crop itself; insomuch that of six thousand bushels, one thousand one hundred twenty-one accrued unto the priests and Levites, four thousand seven hundred seventy-nine remaining only to the husbandman. For, first, out of six thousand bushels (and so accordingly in all, after that proportion) a sixtieth part at least (and that they termed the therumah of the evil eye, or the niggard's firstfruits) was to be set apart for the firstfruits of the threshing-floor, which was one hundred in the total. Out of the residue, being five thousand nine hundred bushels, the first tithe, payable to the Levites who lived dispersed and intermingled in the rest of the tribes, came to five hundred and ninety bushels; and of the residue, being five thousand three hundred and ten bushels, five hundred thirty-one were paid for the second tithe unto the priests which ministered before the Lord in his holy temple: yet so, that such as would decline the trouble of carrying it in kind unto Jerusalem might pay the price thereof in money, according to the estimate which the priests made of it; to which a fifth part being added (as in other cases) did so improve this tithe to the priests' advantage, as that which being paid in kind was but ten in the hundred, being thus altered into money, made no less than twelve. Now lay these several sums together, and of six thousand bushels, as before was said, there will accrue one thousand one hundred twenty-one to the priest and

Levite, and but four thousand seven hundred seventy nine to the lord or tenant. By which account the priests and Levites, in the tithing of six thousand bushels, received twice as much, within a little, as is possessed or claimed by the English clergy, even where the tithes are best paid without any exemptions, which are so frequent in this kingdom.

CHAP. X.

Of things devoted; the nature and obligation of vows.

THE judicious writer above mentioned has, I think, omitted one branch of revenue that belonged to the priests, and which considerably advanced their subsistence; namely, the money that arose out of persons and things devoted to God. In this place, therefore, it may be proper to explain the nature and obligation of vows, as they are defined by the law of Moses, which is very particular, and treats distinctly of the persons who oblige themselves by vows, the force they lay upon the votary, and of the things thus devoted and separated to divine uses.

All vows were to be voluntary, and the offerings made to God to be free and cheerful; but if a person, who was wholly in his own power, made a vow in a thing lawful and possible, and promised something solemnly to God, either by a simple vow, or the addition of a solemn curse, he was obliged to fulfil his vow, or was liable to be punished by God for the robbery and injustice offered him: if he appointed no particular time for accomplishing his vow, he was bound to do it instantly, lest by delay

BOOK II.

he should prove less able, or be unwilling to execute his promise, or perhaps forget it: if the thing devoted chanced to be lost during the delay, he was obliged to give the value of it; which was one difference between a vow and a freewill offering, that in the latter case, as a rabbi observes, if that which he designed was stolen, or died, he was not bound to make reparation. The same author applies this to a vow a man made of giving an alms to a poor person, suppose a shekel, which he was to bestow immediately, if a proper object was at hand; if not, he was to separate it, and lay it by till he met with one. No human power was able to absolve or acquit from lawful vows once made; yet there were persons appointed to judge whether they were lawful or not, and to determine concerning their obligation: and, as a modern writer informs us, there is a traditional doctrine among them practised at this day, that if any man or woman make a vow, which afterwards they wish unmade and repent of, and it be not to the prejudice of any third person that it should be broken; in this case they may go to a rabbi, or to any other three men, who, hearing the reasons of his repentance, and approving them, have power to free him from the obligation, by saying, "Be thou absolved from this vow;" and so he is discharged. But this casuistical solution is expressly contrary to the letter of the law, which insists upon the strict execution of vows in things lawful; for which reason the Jewish doctors very prudently advise their scholars not to accustom themselves to vows, and be content in obeying the precepts of the law, without laying any other bonds upon themselves.

Maim. de don. Paup. c. 8.

Leo Modena, Hist. of the pres. Jews, part ii. cap. 4.

It was intimated before, that all persons who bound themselves by vows were supposed to be absolutely at their own disposal, and were under no power that had authority to make them void. All sons who were in the family of the father, and undisposed of in marriage, and all servants under the government of their masters, had no power to vow without the express consent of their superiors: but the law is most explicit in directing the women in the nature and the execution of vows; and it considers them in a threefold state, before they are married, and after marriage, and in their widowhood. If a maiden in the family, and under the government of her father, made a simple vow, or bound it by an oath, and acquainting her father with it, he did not disallow her promise, she was obliged by her vow, and it was not in his power afterwards to disannul it; but if the father upon notice of her vow refused his consent, though she had bound it with an oath, it was entirely void, and she contracted no guilt by her not performing. Some have imagined that when her father was dead, the obligation of her vow revived; because then she was at her own disposal. But this conjecture is too nice, for the father wholly disannulled the vow, by not approving it; so that it could not recover a force it never had, being made without his consent. The same is to be said of a guardian, who was supposed to be in the place of the father, when he died and left his children to his care. And this power was fit to be reserved to parents, says the learned Puffendorf, not only lest women in their imprudent years should undo themselves by vowing more than their fortunes could bear, but also lest the paternal

BOOK II.

estate should be burdened by such vows, or the necessary affairs of the family hindered: so that this power did not flow from positive laws, but from natural reason, nobody, that is subject to another, having any right to dispose of those things which are under that power to which they are subject. When a married woman, or one espoused to a husband, though still in her father's house, made a vow, then her husband, under whose power she now was, was to determine about it; and the case was exactly the same as that of a daughter under the authority of her father. If the husband, after he had consented, refused the woman the liberty of fulfilling her vow, she was acquitted, and the guilt lay wholly at his own door. A widow or a divorced woman, though she returned to her father's house, who by that means might be supposed to recover his ancient right over her, yet remained perfectly at her own disposal, and was absolutely obliged to stand to her vows. The matter of these vows of women seldom extended to the devoting any part of their goods to the service of the priests, or other sacred purposes; but consisted generally in abstaining from such and such meats, though in themselves lawful; or in binding themselves to fast upon other days, as well as upon the great day of expiation, which was the only fast ordained by the law of Moses: and this kind of vow was called *a vow of prohibition* or *obligation.*

There was another sort of vow, called *a vow of consecration,* when any thing was devoted to the service of the altar, or the temple, or the priests: only this distinction was observed, that when a thing was devoted simply in such words as these, "Let

"this thing be a devoted thing," it was always understood to be set apart wholly for the priests; but when there was an addition that determined it to a certain use, as in this manner, "Let this be a thing "devoted, offered by me to holy uses," the thing devoted was then employed about the reparation of the temple, the sacred vessels, the garments of the priesthood, or other holy purposes. The devoted things that were the portion of the priests differed in this from freewill offerings, that every thing that was offered as a cherem, or a thing devoted with a curse, might be eaten only by the priests in the holy place, but other freewill offerings by the whole family, in any place that was not polluted.

The vow of consecration admitted of several degrees: the highest is what the law calls a *singular* or an extraordinary vow, when a man vowed himself or his children wholly to the service of God in the tabernacle; it being a singular instance of devotion and piety, when men are forward to assist the priests of God in the meanest ministry, such as bringing in wood, carrying out ashes, sweeping away the dust, and such like offices. In this case, the persons thus devoted were not admitted to do any part of holy service; but a value was set upon them by the priest, and that was employed in holy uses. The reason why God would not accept of the persons themselves as they desired, but the value of them for his service, seems to be, because there was a sufficient number of persons peculiarly designed for all the work of the tabernacle, which he would not have encumbered with more attendance than what was absolutely useful: and that the priest might not either overvalue or underva-

BOOK II.

lue any person, the law has expressly fixed the rates which he should demand for their redemption. A man from twenty years old to sixty was to be redeemed for fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary. This was the highest value, and not without reason; for from twenty to sixty men are the most able to do service. Women under the same restriction for age were not able to be so useful as men; and therefore the price of their redemption was less: they could do no more than spin or weave, or make garments, or wash for the priests and Levites; and therefore they were valued at no more than thirty shekels. A parent had a power to devote a child to the service of God: if the child was a male, between the age of five years and twenty, the price of redemption was twenty shekels; if a female, she was redeemed for ten. A child was not capable of being devoted before it was a month old; but then it might; and the price between that age and five years old was five shekels for the male, and three for the female. A man beyond sixty was redeemed for no more than fifteen shekels, because his labour then is almost past, and his life likely to be short: a female was redeemed for ten. And here the Hebrews think it observable, that in their youth males were valued almost double to females; but now, in old age, they are made almost of equal value; for old women continue serviceable in many cases, when old men are of no use; and therefore they have a common proverb among them, "An old "woman in a house is a treasure." If a person was so poor as not to be able to pay the prices of redemption above mentioned, the priest, who was then in attendance at the tabernacle, was to examine into

his circumstances and abilities, and upon the best information to set such a rate upon him as he might be able to pay without injuring himself or his family.

If a man vowed a clean beast to divine use, whether he expressly intended it for a sacrifice, or to be given to the priests and Levites, or left it at large to be sold for the service of the tabernacle, he had not a power to alter it for any other beast or thing, nor to change it for any beast of the same kind; but that very beast which was vowed, was to be given to the uses intended, and no other accepted in its stead, though it were really better. If a man presumed to change what he had vowed, he was to be beaten, and both the one and the other beast was reputed holy. This law is thus explained by the Jews; that if he changed the beast he vowed twice or thrice, or a thousand times, they all became sacred, and he was also to suffer the punishment of stripes for every one of them. A devoted beast that was unclean, and not fit for sacrifice, was to be valued by the priest; and if the man who vowed was willing, he might redeem it at the price set upon it; but he was obliged to add a fifth part to the redemption money, that he might be sure to give the full value, which he was supposed to understand better than the priest; for it was in the man's choice, either to leave the beast with the priest, or to pay the money set upon it. He was not allowed to change it for a clean beast, not only because it was dedicated to God, but because that exchange might have been a great damage to the priest, many unclean beasts being of greater value than some clean; a horse or a camel, for instance, of greater price than a sheep or a goat.

BOOK II.

A house sanctified, or devoted to sacred uses, was to be valued by the priest, and the price fixed upon it was not to be altered: if the man thought fit to redeem it, he was to add the fifth part to the rate set upon it; if he did not, the house could never return to him again, no not at the jubilee. A man might devote part of his estate which descended to him from his ancestors; but it was not lawful for him to sanctify the whole; because God would have no man's family undone, and made beggars, to enrich his sanctuary. In this case it was to be valued by the priest according to the quantity of seed required to sow it: so much land as an homer of barley would sow, was to be rated at fifty shekels; and so, proportionably, so much as would take up two homers, at a hundred, or half an homer, at five and twenty. This was the law, provided the vow was made immediately after the jubilee, or in that year; but if the vow was past some years after, the priest was to compute how many years were gone since the last jubilee, and how many remained till the next, and accordingly to deduct from the rate of fifty shekels before mentioned either more or less, as the years yet to come were more or fewer. The man, if he paid the redemption money, was to add a fifth part; but if he refused, he was for ever excluded the benefit of redemption: nor, if the priest upon his refusal had sold the land to another, did it in the jubilee return to the first owner who vowed it, but to the priests, it being solemnly consecrated to divine service. Some are of opinion, that devoted lands, thus forfeited for want of redemption, were to be sold by the priests to some of the kindred of the person who vowed, or to some of his

tribe; for otherwise lands would go out of the tribe to which they belonged: besides, they say, the priests were to have no inheritance in the country. But these seem not to be solid reasons why the priests should not enjoy this land themselves; for though they were to have no inheritance in the division of the land of Canaan, yet if any fell to them by the means now mentioned, (which was but seldom, since men were very strict in preserving their inheritances,) God thought fit to bestow such land upon his priests, who might possess it if they pleased, because they had it in his right, or else sell it, and keep the money to their own use. No layman could enjoy an estate that he purchased longer than till the year of jubilee, when it was to return to the family of whom it was bought: now if such purchased lands were devoted, the priest was to value them according to his judgment, with respect to the number of years between the time of the vow and the year of jubilee, and the price was to be immediately paid, but without the addition of a fifth part, which he who redeemed his paternal inheritance was bound to pay over and above the price set by the priest; for this was not so valuable as that, being but for a term of years, and to be delivered up at the jubilee to the hereditary owner.

It was strictly forbidden to vow a firstling of a clean beast for a sacrifice, either as a whole burnt offering, or a peace offering; because that was holy already by a prior right: yet the Jews devised a way to give such a firstling to God by a new obligation, and not offend, as they imagine, against this law; for they interpret the prohibition concerning

BOOK II. firstlings already brought forth: no man might devote such; but while they were in the womb they might; saying, "I vow that lamb," suppose, "which "my ewe goes with, to be a whole burnt offering "to God, if it proves a male." But they could not vow it, they say, for a peace offering, because no one could make an alteration in a law, when his own advantage is concerned. If a man had redeemed the firstling of an unclean beast, and by that means made it his own, he might devote it if he pleased; then the priest was to value it, and it might be redeemed at the price by the person that vowed, by adding a fifth part: but if he refused, any other man might buy it at the rate fixed, and the money was applied to holy uses. It must be observed, that nothing vowed had the benefit of redemption, but what was separated by a simple vow; but what was devoted with a cherem, or a curse upon him that vowed, if he did not fulfil his engagement, remained irreversibly and unalterably to the use unto which it was sanctified; the person was accursed who applied it to any other purpose. Such things devoted were called *most holy*, so that none might touch them but the priests; and they were so strictly applied to divine service, that they could not be alienated either by sale, or redemption, or commutation, or donation, or any other way. The sanhedrim (called in scripture *the whole congregation*) had a power to devote their enemies to death before they went to war with them, and such of their own people who refused to obey the military laws. In this case there was no redemption to be allowed, but the persons so devoted were to be put to death.

CHAP. XI.

The Levitical order; the age of admission of the Levites; the time of discharge from duty; their consecration; and their several offices under the tabernacle.

THE Levites, distinctly so called, were not priests, but consisted of the whole tribe of Levi, the posterity of Aaron only excepted. The priesthood was established in this tribe by divine appointment. Levi had three sons, Kohath, Gershon, and Merari. Of these the line of Kohath had the preference. From him descended four families, Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel. Of these the stock of Amram was principal. He had two sons, Aaron and Moses: Aaron was ordained high priest, which office generally descended by succession in the eldest branch of his family; the rest of his posterity were priests. The descendants of Kohath, Gershon, and Merari were Levites; and accordingly they were distinguished into three degrees, Kohathites, Gershonites, and Merarites.

The institution of the Levitical order was designed by God as an exchange for all the firstborn of the Israelites, to whom he had a just title by that great miracle, when he destroyed all the firstborn of the Egyptians, and spared the children of the Hebrews: by which mercy he acquired a just right to them, and commanded a solemn dedication of them to his own use. But God abhorred human sacrifices; and therefore, though the firstborn were separated to himself, yet they were not to be offered as victims, as the male firstlings of clean beasts were, but to be redeemed. But now this redemption was

BOOK II. effected by God's exchanging the firstborn, whom before he challenged as his own, and accepting the Levites in their place. The number of the Levites was taken by Moses, and a computation was made of the firstborn of the males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward. Upon casting up, the firstborn exceeded the Levites by two hundred three score and thirteen, with whom they were exchanged as far as the number of the Levites would go: the firstborn that were above the number were to be redeemed at the price of five shekels by the pole, which sum they who were born after that time always paid to the priest. But there seems to be a difficulty in this case to determine which of the firstborn was to be redeemed, and which should be exchanged for the Levites; for every one of the Israelites, no doubt, was desirous rather to have his firstborn redeemed by a Levite, than by paying five shekels; and yet some of them must be put to this expense, there not being Levites enough to answer for them all. The Jews imagine that there was no way to remove this difficulty but by drawing of lots. For this purpose Moses took two and twenty thousand scrolls of parchment, (which was the number of the Levites,) and wrote in them these words, "A son of Levi;" and two hundred and seventy and three more, wherein he wrote "five shekels:" and then putting them all together in an urn, and shaking it to mingle them, he commanded every one of the firstborn to come and put in his hand, and draw out a schedule; and to him that drew out one of the former sort, he said, "A Levite has "redeemed thee;" but to him that drew out one of the latter, he said, "Pay thy price." This

method seems probable enough, unless we suppose that the congregation redeemed the two hundred seventy-three firstborn out of a common stock, which was a shorter way, but not so divine as the other. The parents were not obliged to redeem their firstborn till they were a month old; yet the Jews distinguish between the time when the redemption money was due, and when it was offered. This latter was deferred till the mother was abroad again; but it was due, and the father obliged to pay it, as soon as the child was a month old.

The ages of the Levites when they entered into the service were various, according to the different offices they were to execute. At five and twenty they were probationers, and admitted to attend upon the priests, and wait upon the tabernacle; then they might be doorkeepers, to keep out strangers, and such as were unclean; but they were excused the more laborious work, such as bearing the ark, and loading the waggons, till they were thirty. When the ark was settled in the temple, and was no more to be carried up and down, David, by divine warrant, changed the time of their admission, and received them into the service at twenty years. The attendance of Samuel at the tabernacle at Shiloh, from a very child, was a case extraordinary; he was there but as a candidate, to be instructed in the manner of the song and of the service. At the age of fifty they were to be discharged from their function, so far as to be exempted from any hard and laborious work; and no ministry was required of them, but what they might easily execute without pains or labour. The rabbins deliver their

BOOK II.

opinion thus upon this subject: there is something lawful in the priests which is unlawful in the Levites, and there is something lawful in the Levites that is unlawful in the priests. The priests upon any blemish are incapable to serve, they are never past their office by their years. The Levites by reason of their years may be unfit for their function, but upon the account of a blemish they are not. By the precept which says, that at the age of fifty they are freed from waiting, it is easy to observe that years will render the Levites unfit. Perhaps also the priests may be unfit through years. And, indeed, does it not seem reasonable, that if the Levites, whom a blemish renders not incapable, should yet be disabled by superannuation, should not the priests much rather be pronounced unfit by superannuation, when even a spot or blemish makes them unqualified? But the text says, This is the law of the Levites, not, This is the law of the priests. A priest, from the time he comes to maturity, till he grows old, is allowed to minister; and yet a spot or blemish makes him unfit. A Levite, from his thirtieth to his fiftieth year, is fit for service; but being superannuated he becomes unfit. How must this be understood concerning the Levites? for the time wherein the ark was in the wilderness; but at Shiloh and in the temple they were never esteemed unfit, unless through the defect of their voice. When the Levites were discharged by age from the laborious part of the service, they had time to apply themselves to learning and study; by which means they became expert in medicine and policy, and other polite arts; so that they were able to govern schools for the education of youth, and qualified for

Grotius in Deut. xvii.

the highest posts in the government; and many of them were deservedly advanced to the principal offices in the commonwealth. CHAP. XI.

Before the Levites were permitted to minister, they were set apart by a solemn rite of consecration; they were purified and dedicated to divine use, by being sprinkled with the water of purification: then they were to shave all their flesh, that (as a rabbi comments) all the hairs being taken off, they might separate themselves from worldly cares as much as might be, and wholly give themselves up to their sacred ministry. Their bodies being clean, they were to wash their clothes, that they should not be defiled by sordid apparel. Then they were presented to God at the altar, and the rulers and governors of the people laid their hands upon their heads, as men used to do upon their sacrifices. This ceremony signified the devoting of the beast to God by him who laid his hand on it at the altar, for such purposes as he brought it: and therefore the Levites were here considered under the notion of a sin offering, and being given to God instead of the firstborn, (by the sanctification of which firstborn the whole family was sanctified, and their sin in a manner expiated,) the offering of the Levites to God, by imposition of hands, was to have the same effect as the offering of the firstborn had; that is, to procure the sanctification and atonement of the whole people, the Levites being considered as an expiatory sacrifice; and yet, not being to be devoted to death, two bullocks were ordered to be sacrificed as substitutes in their stead; the one for a sin, the other for a burnt offering. Upon these victims the Levites were to lay their hands, that the sin, which the

BOOK II. whole nation laid upon them, might be transferred to these beasts, that were actually sacrificed to God, and their blood shed. These were the initiatory rites by which the Levites were at first consecrated, before they were allowed to enter upon their ministry.

It must be observed, that there were two sorts of Levitical service; the first instituted by Moses for the uses of the tabernacle, the second established by David upon account of the temple. In the first the Levites were appointed to take down the tabernacle, to set it up, to carry it about as the host removed, and to take care of all the instruments belonging to it; and for the more regular management of their office, the whole business was divided between the Kohathites, the Gershonites, and the Merarites, in this manner: the employment of the Kohathites was principally concerned about the sanctuary, or holiest of all, under the conduct of Eleazar the priest, to bear the ark of the testimony, and all the instruments of the sanctuary; they carried the covering veil that divided the sanctuary and the holiest of all, the table of shewbread, the dishes, the incense, the incense cups, the goblets, and the continual bread, the candlestick, with the lamps, snuffers, snuff-dishes, and the oil vessels, the golden altar for incense, and the ministering instruments, the altar of burnt offering, the censers, the flesh-hooks and the basons, and all the utensils that belonged to it. But these being the holiest things, were to be taken down and packed up by the priests, some of them in blue silk, some in scarlet, some in purple cloth, all in badgers' skins, and the bars and carriages to be put to them by the priests;

and then the Kohathites came and carried them away, but dared not presume to touch them, nor look upon them when folded up, lest they should be cut off by a divine stroke; and Aaron was to appoint every man his particular office.

The Gershonites were under the command of Ithamar the son of Aaron: their office was to bear the curtains of the tabernacle, and the tabernacle of the congregation, its covering, and the covering of badgers' skins, and the veil of the door of the tabernacle, the curtain of the court that was near the tabernacle, and the altar round about, with all the cords and utensils belonging to them.

The Merarites were likewise under the direction of Ithamar: they had in charge the boards of the tabernacle, with the bars, pillars, and sockets; and the pillars round about the court, with their sockets, and their pins, and their cords, with all the utensils and instruments for service. Ithamar was to give them an inventory of the particulars, expressing by name every pin, for instance, and to what use, and in what place it served; because without such care some of these small things might have been lost, and the tabernacle when it rested could not have been erected for want of them.

CHAP. XII.

The office of the templar Levites, porters, singers, musicians, treasurers; the provincial Levites.

IN the preceding chapter it is defined what was the office and charge of the Levites, as they were simply Levites, and ministered about the tabernacle;

BOOK II. but when Solomon had built the temple, and there settled the ark, the altars, and the holy implements, this employment of theirs was at an end; for these things were now no more to be carried up and down. David therefore, foreseeing this, transposed the Levites to new offices. Before, they were Levites of the tabernacle, now he makes some of them Levites of the temple, and others lived abroad in the country, and may properly be called provincial Levites. This may be collected from the command given them by king Josiah; *Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build; it shall not be a burden upon your shoulders: serve now the Lord your God, and his people Israel.* The Levites of the temple therefore were instituted by David, but inducted by Solomon. There was an officer in chief over each of the Levitical families; and over all these commanding officers was one set supreme, who had a jurisdiction over them, as each of them severally governed the family that was under him.

2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

The templar Levites were divided into porters and singers, which were fixed offices, that they were not allowed to change: they were not to intrude into another's office; and neither of them, except upon extraordinary occasions, into the priest's. The distribution of porters into four and twenty courses is not so clearly evident in scripture, as that of the priests and singers is; for the courses of both those are both numbered and named; but these are not: yet the courses of the porters may be reasonably concluded from what is said of Solomon; (where the division of the porters into courses is mentioned in the same manner with the priests and singers;)

CHAP. XII.

"He appointed the courses of the priests, according "to the order of David his father, and the Levites "to their charges, to praise and minister before the "Lord, as the duty of every day required; the por- "ters also by their courses at every gate." Amongst all the porters, says a Jewish rabbi, there were four and twenty, according to the rest of the courses, six on the east side, four on the north, four on the south, at Asuppim two and two, four in all, four on the west, and two at Parbar; behold four and twenty, and our rabbins have distributed them into four and twenty places! As the priests shared the service among them by lot, so the Levites likewise, as well those that were singers as those that were porters, decided by lot what order of course should be observed in their musical and ministerial employment by the one, and what gates of the temple should be attended upon by the other. The office of the porters was, first, to open and shut the doors of the mountain of the house, and of the court of the women, (for the priests were the appointed guards to open and shut the gates of the other court,) and to attend in those gates all the day, to prevent any inconvenience that might happen, in prejudice of the purity, safety, or peace of the place or service. Beside this care of the porters at the gates by day, there were four and twenty appointed to watch the temple by night. To guard the sanctuary, says Maimonides, was an affirmative precept, though there was no fear either of enemies or thieves; and the command concerning this guarding was, that it should be by night: they that warded were the priests and the Levites. Now whether the Levites, that were of these guards, were the porters only, and

Kimchi in 1 Chron. xxvi.

In Beth. habbech. per. 8.

BOOK II. not the singers also of every course as it came in, is difficult to judge: however, the guards were in number four and twenty, and were kept every one in four and twenty places every night; three of priests, and one and twenty of Levites. There was a guard at every one of these gates of the mountain of the house, one at the east gate Shusha, one at the north gate Tedi, two at the two south gates Huldah, and one at the west gate Coponius; and there was a guard within every one of the four corners of that great square, so that there were nine in that boundary wall that encompassed the holy ground. The three other gates on the west quarter, namely, one of Parbar, and two of Asuppim, were not guarded by night as the others were, though they had porters by day, either because the descent was so steep that they were in no danger, or they were secured some other way. About the wall that enclosed the courts there were two guards at the two east corners, and two at the west, and both of them without the wall of the court; and there were five at five of the seven gates. The two gates that were not guarded by the Levites were the water-gate, over which there was a guard of priests in the chamber of Absines, and the upper gate of Corban, by which there was a guard of priests in the room Beth Mokadh. There was one guard of Levites more on the north side, in the chamber of Corban, over against the holy place; and another on the south side over against the veil, and another just behind the most holy place. The gate Nitsets had a guard of priests and Levites both at it, very near together. There was a person who walked the round through all these guards every night, who was called *the*

man of the mountain of the house. If he found the watch standing, he passed them, saying, Peace be unto you; if he found any one asleep, he struck him, and had liberty to set his clothes on fire. Whether this officer were the sagan, (as some imagine,) or one of the course that was then in waiting, is not so easy to determine. Thus were the guards disposed under the second temple.

Another part of the Levitical ministry consisted in singing; and the singers, as the priests, were divided into twenty-four courses. It is disputed whether any were employed in the temple music but the Levites only. If any were, it was necessary they should be as near the priesthood as possible, both for alliance and accomplishments; but when they were thoroughly qualified, they were not admitted to join voices with the vocal music, which was the proper song and the proper service, but only with the instrumental; that is, if a person of singular worth and piety, or was nearly allied to the priesthood, had applied himself to musical devotion, and offered his service in the choir, he was allowed to join his instrument among the others; but he was not admitted among the voices, for that service was peculiar to the Levites. The number of voices were never to be under twelve, for so was the number of every course, but as many above as might be. And whereas the children of the Levites were never allowed to come within the court upon any other occasion, or at any other time; yet when the Levites were singing, they were admitted to sing with them, not to go up into the desks and to look over, as the Levites did, but to stand upon the ground between their fathers' legs.

BOOK II.

The instruments in use were either wind instruments, or instruments with strings. The chief of the wind instruments were the trumpets. The number of them was to be not under two, nor above a hundred and twenty. They were blown by the priests, for so was the original institution, who, when they were ministering in this service, did not stand with the Levites, nor near them, but upon the other side of the altar, looking down the court when they blew, as the Levites stood looking up the court when they sang and played, but both looking upon the altar. The manner of their blowing with trumpets was first a long plain blast, then a blast with breathing and quaverings, then a long plain blast again; and they never blew but these three blasts went together.

Another wind instrument that they used was a pipe, or hautboy, or cornet, or some such loud wind music. This instrument was not constantly used at the altar every day, as the trumpets were, and the other instruments we are to speak of, but it was blown only twelve days in the year, namely, upon the killing of the first passover, at the killing of the second passover, on the first holyday of the passover week, on the holyday of pentecost, and on the eight days of the feast of tabernacles.

Those other instruments that were the constant music, and never failed from attendance, were the nebhel, kinnor, and tseltsel; and these were distributed severally to the sons of the three master musicians, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun. The two first are constantly translated *harps* and *psalteries;* and though they were both instruments with strings, yet there was this difference between them: the one

was struck with a quill or bow, as our citterns and violins are; and the other with the fingers, as the lute. The notes of the one were made and differenced by frets and stops, and of the other by the several strings. The nebhel had twelve strings, which made twelve several notes. The kinnor had but ten strings, and the notes were made with stops and frets. The nebhel, therefore, according to this description, might be translated a *harp*, for the several strings made the several notes, and it was struck with the fingers; and the kinnor was like our violins, stopt on the frets, and played upon with a bow. The tseltsel we translate *cymbal*, which seems to have been neither an instrument by wind nor strings, but some broad instrument of brass, that was beat upon to make music, as a tabor. There was but one cymbal allowed to be in choir at once, which seems to have borne the base. There might not be less than two harps, nor above six; and of violins not under nine, but as many above as possible; so that the least choir that could be admitted, consisted of nine violins, two harps, and one cymbal.

Every morning, at the opening of the court gates, the trumpets sounded their *taratantara*, as we may call it, particularly at the opening of the east gate, the gate of Nicanor. This practice had no express command for it in the Mosaic law, yet it was justified by necessity and reason, because by this blast the Levites and stationary men had notice to come to attend their desks and service, and the people of Jerusalem might know the time to come to worship at the temple; so that this sounding was like bells, to ring them into the service; and after this the

BOOK II. trumpets sounded not till the very time of the morning sacrifice. The song and music began not to sound till the pouring out of the drink offering, because till that was poured out the offering was not complete, and then they began. The constant and ordinary psalms that were sung were these: upon the first day of the week the four and twentieth, beginning, *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;* because upon the first day of the week of the creation God possessed the world, and gave it in possession, and governed it: upon the second day they sung the forty-eighth, *Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised;* for on that day the Lord divided his works, the waters, and reigned over them: upon the third day they sung the eighty-second, *God standeth in the congregation of the mighty;* because on that day the earth appeared, upon which there must be judging and judges; and by his wisdom He discovered the earth, and established the world by his understanding: upon the fourth day they sung the ninety-fourth, *O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth;* because upon the fourth day He made the sun, moon, and stars, and will be avenged on them who worship them: upon the fifth day they sung the eighty-first, *Sing aloud unto God our strength: make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob;* because of the variety of creatures that were made that day to praise his name: upon the sixth day they sung the ninety-third, *The Lord reigneth, He is clothed with majesty;* because on the sixth day God finished his works of the creation, made man, who understands the glory of the Creator, and the Lord ruled over all his works: upon the sabbath day they sung the

ninety-second psalm, which bears the title of "A "psalm or song for the sabbath day." CHAP. XII.

When these psalms were sung, they were divided by the singers into three parts, and they made a long rest, by ceasing from music and singing between every part. At these three intermissions the trumpets sounded, and the people worshipped. The sounding (as was observed before) was a *taratantara*, that is, three strains, a plain, a quavering, and a plain again; and thus they sounded one and twenty blasts every day, three at the opening of the court gate, nine at the morning sacrifice, and nine at the evening sacrifice; that is, three soundings at the three intermissions of the music, and the three strains above mentioned at every sounding; so that the trumpets never joined with the choir in consort, but sounded only when the choir was silent.

Thus was the song, and these were the psalms that were commonly sung throughout the year; but upon some certain days there were other psalms and songs used, and the trumpets also sounded extraordinary soundings, besides those above mentioned. Upon the eve of the sabbath the trumpets sounded two soundings more than they used to do upon other days; one to give notice to the people to leave off work, and another to distinguish between the common day and the holyday that was now begun. Upon the sabbaths there was an additional sacrifice, besides the daily sacrifice. At the time of this additional sacrifice the Levites sung the song of Moses, *Hear, O heavens, and I will speak;* Deut. xxxii. but they did not sing the whole song, but divided it into six parts; one part of it was sung every sab-

BOOK II.

bath, and so they finished it in six days, and then they began again. This was the service at the additional morning sacrifice; and at the evening sacri-

Exod. xv.

fice they sung the song of Moses, *I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.* At the additional sacrifice and sabbatical song the priests sounded their trumpets three times more than they did at the ordinary songs, the singers making their pauses and rests in those songs, as well as in the other. At the additional sacrifices appointed for the first day of the year (called *the feast of trumpets*) the Levites sung the eighty-first psalm, *Sing aloud unto God our strength.* And if the first day of the year happened to fall upon the fifth day of the week, (for which day this psalm was sung in the ordinary course,) then it was sung twice, once at the daily sacrifice, and once at the additional sacrifice; only at one of the times they began at the sixth verse, *I removed his shoulder from the burden.* At the evening sacrifice of the first day of the year the nine and twentieth psalm was sung, *The voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness.* And if the first day of the year fell upon the sabbath, the psalms for the day took place of the sabbatical psalms, and were sung in the service.

The office of the Levites was not confined to singing and keeping guard at the temple; they were likewise appointed to be treasurers, and intrusted with the care and management of the revenue that belonged to the ministry. There were three of these officers. One was the principal and high treasurer; the next to him had the care of the maintenance appointed for the support of the temple service, and was called *the ruler of the treasures;*

to the other were committed the treasures of things dedicated, the gifts and freewill offerings of the princes, captains, priests, or any other of the people, that were presented voluntarily out of spoils taken in war, or arising any other way, and applied for the uses of the temple, and the officers that belonged to it. In short, the business of the templar Levites was to provide the shewbread for the holy table, fine flour for meat offerings and the unleavened cakes, to assist the priests in their ministrations upon sabbaths and public festivals, but not to come near the vessels of the sanctuary, nor of the altar, to officiate as priests; though in cases of necessity, when the number of priests was insufficient, they were sometimes called in to kill and to flay the sacrifices.

The provincial Levites were such as were dispersed through the whole country of Palestine, and employed in the service of the state, as well as of the church; for the Levitical tribe in the time of David was so numerous, that there were thirty-eight thousand Levites, besides the priests; so great a number, says Grotius, that it is impossible but some of them were more for ornament than use; many of them therefore were employed in civil affairs, and were public officers in the commonwealth. They presided in the courts of justice in the several cities, when the courses of their ministry were over; for they came in and went out by set numbers every week, in twenty-four courses, and appeared at the temple but once in four and twenty weeks, unless at the three grand solemnities. This recess gave them opportunity to instruct the people in the Mosaic law, to expound the moral, the cere-

In 1 Chron. xxiii. 3.

BOOK II.

monial, and judicial parts of it, and to judge in matters of controversy that were brought before them. Josephus reckons the number of the Levites of this kind, with their scribes, as he calls them, to be six thousand; from whence it appears that the sect of the scribes belonged to the judges. The public records and genealogies were preserved by these Levites; they were the lawyers and recorders; to them belonged the administration of justice, the exposition of the laws, the writing out of copies of the holy books for the use of the synagogues in the country, the preservation of the lineage of their tribes, the laying the rolls of the records in relation to things sacred and civil, (that concerned either the king or the people,) so that persons of the greatest rank and quality were of the Levitical tribe. We find them to be chief judges of the land, generals of the army, and counsellors of state to the king. They were the principal advancers of learning and knowledge. They excelled in all the arts and sciences of those ages, the schools of the prophets and the universities of the land being under their government and institution.

Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 15.

There were no peculiar vestments prescribed by the law of Moses for the Levites to wear in the time of their ministry. It is certain, they were different from the sacerdotal habit; for Josephus speaks of two hundred thousand silken stoles that Solomon provided for the Levites who chanted the holy hymns; and the Levites, as the same author observes, petitioned king Agrippa, that they might be allowed to wear the robe belonging to the priests, and go no more in their ordinary clothes. However, their outward garment was a tunic of fine

Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2.

Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 8. 1 Chron. xv. 27.

linen. When they were out of their office, and travelled in the country, they were generally provided, as the Jews say, with a staff, a purse, and a copy of the law. CHAP. XII. Jevamoth, 167.

CHAP. XIII.

The number of the Levitical cities, with the use and extent of their suburbs; the cities of refuge, and their privileges.

BESIDES the revenue and subsistence which the Levites received from the tithes, they had forty-eight cities assigned them in several parts of the country, whereby they were dispersed among the tribes, and by that means the better able to instruct the people in the divine law; not that it was unlawful for them to hire or purchase houses in any other city, particularly at Jerusalem, or the place where the tabernacle was settled; and likewise other persons, with their permission, might dwell with them in the Levitical cities, without any violation of the law of Moses. These cities they enjoyed by as full a right as their brethren of the other tribes had in their lands which fell to them by lot, and therefore they had no power to alienate either the houses or fields that belonged to them. But if they sold a house, it was to revert at the jubilee; and the fields they could not so much as sell till that time; for these fields were not enclosed, that every family might have its several allotment, but they were common to the whole body of the Levites, who would have been undone if they had wanted pasture for their flocks, which were all their

BOOK II.

substance. Each of these cities had a suburb without the walls, extending every way for the space of a thousand cubits. This was made use of to build barns, stables, outhouses, conveniences for hay and straw, and other accommodations, and perhaps for gardens of herbs and flowers. The Jews say, that under the second temple the Levites had no suburbs, which were not restored to them after the captivity of Babylon; but there being care taken that the people should strictly pay their tithes, it is unreasonable to suppose that there was no provision made for places to lay them up in. From the outside of this suburb there was a territory of two thousand cubits more, which was to be applied for pasture for their cattle. It was held unlawful to build houses, or plant vineyards, or sow corn in these fields. They were given them only to make their dwellings more sweet, and that they might have the convenience of cattle about them for provisions and other uses. So that the whole circuit of ground round every city, which stood exactly in the midst, was in the whole three thousand cubits; a thousand for the suburbs, properly so called, and two thousand more for their pasture, called properly *the fields of the suburbs.* The learned Dr. Heylin, who allowed no more than two thousand cubits for the whole extent of the suburbs round the Levitical cities, remarks, that these possessions, in so small a country as Palestine, was a greater proportion than the rents received by the clergy of all the bishopric and chapter lands in the realm of England. These forty-eight cities of the Levites were so many universities, where the ministerial tribe, distributed into companies, studied the law, being supported by the

Lev. xxv. 34.

Histor. Tracts, p. 167.

tithes, and from thence were dispersed throughout the nation, to educate youth, and improve the people in religion in the public synagogues. The place of burial to every one of these cities was appointed without the bounds of the utmost suburbs, for within it was unlawful to bury the dead, not so much to avoid pollution, which might be contracted from a sepulchre, but upon the account of the nice construction forced by the scribes upon the law, which says, the suburban land of these cities was given to the Levites for their cattle and oxen, and for all their living creatures; therefore, say they, not for the dead, or for places of interment.

Six of these cities were invested with peculiar privileges, and were appointed for cities of refuge, whither the manslayer, who killed a person by chance, and without design, might fly, and find security, till he was to be tried by proper judges. The rabbins descant thus upon this subject: Moses separated three cities of refuge beyond Jordan, and against them Joshua separated three cities in the land of Canaan, and these were placed by one another just as two ranks of vines are in a vineyard; Hebron, in Judæa, against Bezer in the wilderness; Shechem, in mount Ephraim, against Ramoth in Gilead; Cadesh, in mount Naphtali, against Golan in Basan. And these three were so equally disposed, that there was so much space from the south coast of the land of Israel to Hebron as there was from Hebron to Shechem, and as much from Hebron to Shechem as from Shechem to Cadesh, and as much from Shechem to Cadesh as from Cadesh to the north coast of the land. All the Levitical cities, say the Hebrew doctors, were cities of refuge, but not

BOOK II. equally with the six properly so called; for the six afforded refuge to every person who dwelt in them, whether he resorted thither for that purpose or not; but the other cities had not that privilege. In the six the manslayer was to have a house to live in for nothing, but in the other forty-two he was to pay for it. And the Levites could not refuse to admit him into the six; but as for the rest, it was in their choice whether they would receive him or no. The benefit of this protection was common to strangers and sojourners, (for those so called had renounced idolatry,) as well as to native Israelites; but such as were mere Gentiles, and not so much as proselytes of the gate, if they killed another, though a Gentile, had not the advantage of this law, because they were not suffered to dwell in the land of Palestine, though they traded in the country. And if a proselyte of the gate killed an Israelite, or one that was circumcised, he also, if we may believe the Jewish doctors, was denied protection in these cities; but if he killed a proselyte of the gate like himself, he was allowed the same privilege as the Hebrews had.

If a person was killed wilfully, it was murder, and the guilty was to suffer death. The heir of him that was slain stood bound to avenge his blood. He was not obliged to stay for the sentence of the court, but might kill the murderer with his own hand wheresoever he met him. But if he refused, or was not able, or no such avenger was to be found, (that is, if the murderer himself proved to be the next heir, or the man slain was a proselyte of justice without issue,) he was to be prosecuted and put to death by the court of judgment, and that by the sword. But if the matter proved to be accidental,

and the slaughter was casual, the manslayer had the privilege to fly instantly to one of these sacred asylums, to secure himself from the violent prosecution of the avenger. And to give him all possible advantage in his flight, it was the business of the sanhedrim to make the roads that led to those cities convenient, by enlarging them, and removing every obstruction that might hurt his foot or hinder his speed. No hillock or river was allowed, over which there was not a bridge, and the road was at least two and thirty cubits broad. At every turning there were posts erected with this inscription, "Refuge, "Refuge," to guide him in the road; and two students in the law were appointed to accompany him, that if the avenger (who was always the next heir to him that was slain) should overtake him before he reached the city, they might endeavour to pacify him, and suspend his revenge, till the slayer was either condemned or acquitted in a court of justice. A certain day was set out, which was the fifteenth of February, for the repairing of the highways and bridges that had been broken down by the winter rains or floods. When the slayer came to the city gates, he was examined by proper persons before his admittance into the place; but they were not judges, nor could they examine witnesses. If the avenger pursued him so closely that they had not time to examine the matter at the gate of the city, they were not to let him stand there, but to receive him in, and inquire into the merits of his case afterwards; not that they were to pronounce a final sentence, but to determine whether he deserved protection till he was delivered up to the senate or court of judgment in the city where the fact was com-

BOOK II.

mitted, who were to inquire and decide whether he were guilty of wilful murder or not. If the court found the man was casually killed, as the person accused pretended, the avenger was charged to prosecute him no further, and he was sent back from the place where he was tried to the city where he had taken refuge, there to remain till the death of the high priest. Here he had a convenient habitation assigned him; and the citizens, as the Jews say, were obliged to teach him some trade, whereby he might support himself. And to render his confinement more easy, the mothers of the high priests used to feed and clothe these unfortunate fugitives, that they might not be impatient, and pray for the death of their sons, upon whose decease they were all restored to liberty. If the slayer died in the city of refuge before he was released, his bones were to be delivered to his relations after the death of the high priest, to be buried in the sepulchre of his fathers. If a man killed the high priest, or the high priest himself happened to slay a man involuntarily, they were to remain in the city of refuge as long as they lived; yet the Hebrew doctors admit of this temperament, that if one who had been high priest, but removed from his office, was alive when the slaughter was committed, after his death both the person who killed the high priest, and the high priest himself thus under protection, were set free from confinement, and obtained their liberty.

No person had the benefit of refuge but the ignorant and involuntary manslayer; nor was such a one obliged to fly, unless the person died presently, and did not lie and languish of his wound; for then his death might possibly be imputed to some other

cause. In such a case, the man who wounded him had no occasion to fly, and the avenger had no commission to pursue him. The same was the case of him whose office it was to arrest men by public authority, and bring them before the judges, if he struck a man that refused to obey his writ, and accidentally killed him. The benefit of this protection was confined within the limits of the city, and the surrounding suburbs of three thousand cubits. If the manslayer was found beyond these bounds, though he was free from the punishment of the law, and no court of justice could reach him, yet the avenger, if he met him, might kill him without lying under the guilt of a murderer; because he did not act as a private person, but executed a sentence against him who was condemned by public authority, and had no protection allowed him, if he went beyond the bounds prescribed. But if the avenger should kill him after the decease of the high priest, he was esteemed a murderer, and to be punished with death. No money or interest could purchase the liberty of the manslayer before the time appointed. This punishment of manslaughter was as indispensable as death for murder; and therefore if any man happened to kill another in the city of refuge to which he was confined, he was obliged to fly to another city of refuge, and there to continue till the high priest died, and he was released by law.

CHAP. XIV.

The office of the Nethinims and the stationary men.

AS the Levites were to assist the priests in the execution of their office, so the Nethinims were

BOOK II

servants under them to hew wood, and to draw water for the altar, and the use of the sacrifices, and were a sort of sub-deacons in the Jewish church. They were not originally of Hebrew descent, but are supposed by learned men to have been the posterity of the Gibeonites, who, for their fraudulent stratagem in imposing upon Joshua and the Hebrew princes, were condemned to this employment, which was a sort of honourable servitude. They were addicted, says Grotius, to certain personal servitude, whereas had they dealt plainly and openly with the Israelites, they might have been admitted only as tributaries. Yet in this service they discharged themselves with great care and fidelity to the times of Nehemiah, who records, that great numbers of the Nethinims returned from Babylon to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple. They were allowed to use no trade or occupation; nor could they, being foreigners, have any possession among the Israelites; nor were they allowed to marry a woman of Israel. It is probable that they were dispersed through the whole country of Palestine, where the priests and Levites were settled, and came and served with them in their courses, and it is supposed were maintained out of the public stock and the profits of the altar. When they were in waiting at the temple, they lodged in the tower of Ophel, or in a street adjacent, because they might be near the east gate of the temple, which was the common and the magnificent entrance into it. They could not lodge within the courts, because they were not of the Levitical tribe; but they lived close by; and when their week of ministration was over, they returned to their cities and villages (of which they had many)

De Jure Bel. et Pac. cap. 13. sect. 4.

Chap. vii. 46.

in the country, as the priests and the Levites did. They obtained the name of Nethinims from Natan, which signifies *to give;* and it is supposed they were first called so by David, because they were appointed or given by him for the service of the temple.

As there were four and twenty courses of the priests, and as many of the porters and singers, so likewise were there four and twenty courses of Israelites of the station. This is a title indeed unknown to the scripture, yet the office of these stationary men will appear evident and necessary upon these two considerations: first, it must be observed, that no man's sacrifice could be offered up, unless he himself were present at it, and stood by it. And hence it was, that though women were at all other times forbidden to come into the courts of Israel, yet when a woman had a sacrifice to be offered up, she was admitted into the court; and there was a necessity that she should be there; because whoever had a burnt sacrifice to offer up, he was to bring it to the sanctuary himself; and if it was a bullock or lamb, he was to put his hand upon the head of it. The second consideration is, that there were some sacrifices, particularly the continual daily sacrifice was the offering of all Israel, or of the whole congregation; and accordingly the lambs for the daily sacrifice, and other sacrifices that were offered for the whole nation, were provided at the public expense, out of the treasury of the temple. Now it was impossible that all the people of the Jews should be present at all the sacrifices that were to be offered up for the whole congregation; and therefore it was necessary that some representatives should be elected, who, in the place of the people,

BOOK II. should attend at all national sacrifices. And because this attendance would be continual, in regard to the daily sacrifice, which was a sacrifice of this nature, and consequently it would be a hardship for any one company of men to be continually in waiting, therefore four and twenty courses of these stationary men were appointed, that their attendance in their several changes might be the more easy. These men of the station were elected out of all Israel, and in the choice great regard was had to their honesty and good life. Over every course there was a president, who was distinguished by the title of *president of the station.*

These men of the station in every course followed the same method as the priests and Levites did in their courses. Those who lived in Jerusalem and in the adjacent places, when their week of duty came, attended in their station. But such as lived remote, at an inconvenient distance, assembled in their several synagogues; and there they fasted and prayed, and read a part of the law; and by that means may be said to join in service with, and for their brethren of the course that were attending at Jerusalem. They fasted upon the second, third, fourth, and fifth days of that week, and read over the history of the creation in the beginning of the book of Genesis. They did not fast upon the first day of the week, because it was improper that the austerity of a fast should succeed the joy of a sabbath; and the last day they thought equally unseasonable, because they would not preface the delight of the sabbath with a fast neither. But the four days between they used for that solemn duty, to intercede for the prosperity of their stationary

brethren that were at Jerusalem, and of the service they were concerned in. The attendance of these stationary men at the temple was appointed for two ends: the first was, that there should be always a representative congregation of all the people present at the offering up of the daily sacrifice, and at the administration of the public ordinances and service. The other part of their employment, at least of some of them, was to take care (as representatives of the people) that such of them as had been under any legal pollution, and being now cleansed, came to the temple to have their atonement made, might be soon dispatched, and not long detained before their business was over. These men of the station, in the week of their attendance, were not allowed to be trimmed by the barber, nor to wash their clothes in all that time, because these things were to be done before they entered upon their course of ministry.

CHAP. XV.

The institution of prophets, their schools and seminaries, and methods of education. Revelation by dreams, visions, and immediate inspirations. Of Bath-Kol, or the daughter of a voice.

THE priests and Levites were the standing ministry in the Jewish church. But besides these God was pleased to raise up extraordinary persons, to whom he revealed himself in a signal manner, and who were indued with many excellent accomplishments, particularly with a prophetical spirit, that they might be the better qualified to inform the people of their duties, to reprove them for their

BOOK II. sins, to prepare them for the coming of the Messiah, and to foretell events to come. The necessity of this prophetical office among the Jews is very pertinently set forth by Origen, in his book against Celsus. When the nations round about them had their oracles, and several ways of divination, all which were strictly prohibited among the Jews; if the Jews had no way of foreknowing things to come, it had been almost impossible, considering the great curiosity of human nature, to have kept them from despising the law of Moses, or apostatizing to the heathen oracles, or setting up something like them among themselves. From whence he argues, that there was a constant succession of prophets, who succeeded Moses, whom though they resembled in birth, calling, and doctrine, yet they fell short of him in working miracles and wonders among the people; not but that there were prophets in the church from Adam to the time of Moses, yet the Jews observe they did not follow in a regular succession.

Contra Celsum, lib. i.

About the time of Samuel there were schools of the prophets erected, and many think that he was the author of them. They were places of education, where young persons, the most hopeful of the Levites, and the Nazarites out of other tribes, were instructed in religion and piety, the better to prepare themselves to receive the prophetical spirit, not but that God sometimes bestowed a spirit of prophecy upon persons who had not been educated in these schools. The occasion of the institution arose from the resort which the people had to the high places for sacrificing, during the captivity, or uncertain abode of the ark of God after the desolation

of Shiloh. Now the people assembling at these places to perform their sacrifices, it was so ordered that a company of prophets should be there resident to bless the sacrifices, and to instruct the people. Over these little universities, or colleges of students, there was some venerable prophet as a president, who was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and partook of divine revelations. But the scholars were not inspired with the same prophetical spirit, but received prophecies from the mouth of their master. They were called *sons of the prophets*, to whom they ministered, as the evangelists did to the apostles; they published the prophecies they received to the people, when their masters (whom they called *fathers*) were otherwise employed. By them they were instructed in the Mosaic law. In the schools they sat below at their master's feet, and the master above over their heads when he taught them.

The principal of these academies in the kingdom of Israel were at Bethel, Jericho, and Gilgal; and by the prophets in these schools was the purity of religion preserved among the ten tribes, after the defection, in the time of Jeroboam; for the people resorted to them upon the solemn festivals, when they were instructed, and had lectures upon the law read to them.

In Judah likewise there were some of these schools; particularly at Jerusalem there was a college within the second wall of the city: and so great regard was paid to the prophetical character, that none were suffered to be buried within Jerusalem, but kings of the family of David, and prophets. Out of these seminaries it was God's ordinary method to call students, whom he designed to employ in the pro-

BOOK II.

phetical office; and though their educations in those schools could not concur, by way of efficiency, to produce in them a spirit of prophecy, yet their institution in these nurseries tended to improve their natural faculties, and to subdue all irregular motions in their souls; for nothing could be a greater objection against divine inspiration, than if the person who pretended to it were of very weak and shallow intellectuals, or known to be of an irregular conversation. In these schools, therefore, their understanding and natural abilities were advanced, they were brought up in spiritual exercises, and instructed in the sense of the law, and in the solemn celebration of divine praises. And that the minds of the prophets might be the better disposed to receive the divine impulse, they used the assistance of instrumental music in their devotions; for music admirably allays the passions, and fits the soul for the better entertainment of the divine Spirit. And at some of these music-meetings there have been persons who have had their spirits so elated by the force of music, that they have composed hymns upon the place, by a divine energy inwardly moving their minds, and transporting them beyond the ordinary power of imagination and fancy. The composing and singing of these divine hymns is called *prophesying;* but in what manner this office was performed is not so easy to define or specify, says Mr. Mede, who supposes that there was a precentor to usher in the verse or ditty, and the rest answered the extremes, or last words of the verse.

1 Sam. x. 12.

Book I. Disc. 16.

It is not certain what rite of initiation was used when a prophet first entered upon his office. Some suppose that he was anointed with holy oil, in the

same manner with kings and priests. But this opinion is exploded by others, who say that there were prophets among the Hebrews before the holy oil was made, and likewise after it ceased; and therefore they allow no other ceremony of inauguration but clothing with a prophetical mantle, which was an upper garment made of lamb's skin, thrown over the shoulders, and, some think, coming down to the heels. They likewise wore haircloth next their skin, tied about with a leathern girdle.

The frequent and standing method, whereby God was pleased to transact with the prophets, and in extraordinary cases with other men, was either by dreams, visions, or immediate inspirations. The way by dreams was, when the person being overtaken with a deep sleep, and all the outward senses locked up, God presented the species and images of things to their understanding, and in such a manner that they might be able to apprehend the divine will, which they presently did upon their awaking. These divine dreams the Jews distinguish into two sorts; monitory, such as were sent only by way of instruction or admonition, to give men notice what they were to do, or warning what they were to avoid: or they were prophetical, when God by such a powerful energy acted upon the mind and imagination of the prophet, as carried the strength and force of a divine evidence along with it. This was sometimes done by a clear and distinct impression of the thing upon the mind, without any dark or enigmatical representation of it, and sometimes by apparition, yet so as the man, though asleep, was able to discern an angel conversing with him.

When God communicated himself by vision, it

BOOK II. was usually done two ways: first, when something really appeared to the sight. Thus Moses beheld the bush burning, and stood there while God conversed with him. Or, secondly, by powerful impressions upon the imagination, usually done while the prophet was awake, and had the free and uninterrupted exercise of his reason, though the vision often overpowered and cast him into a trance, that the soul, being more retired from sensible objects, might the closer attend those divine notices that were represented to it. Thus all the prophets had the ideas of those things that they were to deliver to the people the more strongly impressed upon their fancies, and this commonly when they were in the greatest solitude and privacy, and their powers most called in, that the prophetical influx might have the greater force upon them.

God was pleased sometimes to communicate his mind to the prophets by immediate inspirations, whereby he immediately transacted with the understandings, without any relation to their fancy or their senses. It was the most pacate and serene way of prophecy, God imparting his mind not by dreams or visions, but while they were awake, their powers active, and their minds undisturbed. This the Jews call *the Holy Spirit*, or that kind of revelation which was directly conveyed into the mind by the most efficacious irradiation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, God by these divine illapses enabling the prophet clearly and immediately to apprehend the matters delivered to him. The highest pitch of this prophetical revelation was what the Jews call *the Mosaic degree*, or that way of prophecy which God used towards Moses, who was ho-

noured with a mighty preeminence above all other prophets; which the Jewish writers make to consist in four things: the first, that in all God's communications to Moses he immediately spake to his understanding, without any impressions upon fancy, any visible appearances, any dreams or visions of the night. The second, that Moses had the prophecies conveyed to him without any fears or consternations, whereas the other prophets were astonished and weakened at the sight of God. The third, that Moses had no previous dispositions to make him capable of divine revelations, but could directly go to God and consult him, as a man speaks with his friend; other prophets being forced, many times, by some preparatory arts, to invite the prophetic spirit to come upon them. The fourth, that Moses had a freedom and liberty of spirit to prophesy at all times, and could when he pleased have recourse to the sacred oracle. But as to this the scripture intimates no such thing, the spirit of prophecy retiring from him at some times, as well as from the rest of the prophets: and indeed the prophetical spirit did not reside in the holy men by way of habit, but occasionally, as God saw it proper to confer it upon them. It was not in them as light is in the sun, but as light in the air; and consequently depended upon the immediate irradiations of the Spirit of God.

These divine communications were so conveyed to the minds of the prophets, that they always knew them to be divine revelations; so mighty and perspicuous was the evidence that came along with them, that there could be no doubt but they were the birth of Heaven. It is true, when the prophetic

BOOK II.

spirit seized upon wicked men, they understood not its effect upon them, nor were in the least improved by it: the revelation passed through them as a sound through a trunk, or water through a leaden pipe, without any particular and distinct apprehension of the thing, or useful impression made upon their minds. This was the case of Caiaphas and Balaam; of which last the Jews say expressly, that he prophesied according to the will of God, but understood not what he prophesied. The prophets of God, when they were inspired, were not carried out into furious transports of rage and madness, though the impulse might oftentimes be very strong and violent: they were often in a bodily ecstasy, but never in an ecstasy of mind; their reason and understanding never being rendered useless and unserviceable to them. Indeed it was absolutely necessary that the prophet should have a full satisfaction of mind concerning the truth and divinity of his message; and therefore even in those methods that were most liable to doubts and questions, such as communications by dreams, we cannot think but that the same Spirit that moved and impressed the thing upon them, did also, by some secret and inward operation, settle the mind in the firmest belief and persuasion of what was revealed and suggested to it. All these ways of immediate revelation ceased some hundreds of years before the final period of the Jewish church, after it had continued among men, and sometimes women, from the beginning of the world. The Jews allow that there was no prophet in the second temple. But this is not true; for the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi lived after the second temple, and prophesied under it.

However, at the death of Malachi, the last of that order, the spirit of prophecy ceased: after him there arose no prophet in Israel, who is therefore called by the Jews *the seal of the prophets.*

To supply this want of revelation by prophecy, the Jews made use of a vile refuge, and invented what they called *Bath-Kol*, which, they say, was a voice from heaven. They gave it the name of Bath-Kol, that is, *the daughter voice*, or *the daughter of a voice*, (for it may be interpreted both ways,) because it succeeded, they say, in the place of the oracular voice delivered from the mercy-seat, when God was there consulted by Urim and Thummim. That was the grand and primary voice of revelation, this of a secondary dignity, and inferior to it as the daughter is to the mother; and therefore in respect to it, and as coming in its stead, it is called *the daughter voice*, the other being to it as the mother, in precedence both of time and dignity. There is also another reason given for this name, which is, that it came out of thunder; that the thunderclap always went first, and then the Bath-Kol issued out: and therefore the thunder was as the mother voice, and Bath-Kol as the daughter coming out of it. But this cannot be true; for most of the instances which the Jewish writers give us of this Bath-Kol are without any thunder preceding. That it may be understood what kind of oracle this was, I shall give one instance of it out of the Talmud. Rabbi Jochanan and Rabbi Simeon ben Lachish, desiring to see the face of R. Samuel, a Babylonish doctor, "Let us follow," said they, "the hearing of Bath-"Kol." Travelling therefore near a school, they heard the voice of a boy reading these words out of the

In Shabbath, fol. 8. col. 3.

BOOK II. Chap. xxv. 1.

First Book of Samuel, *And Samuel died.* They observed this, and inferred from hence that their friend Samuel was dead; and so they found it happened, for Samuel of Babylon was then dead. Many more instances of this sort might be produced out of the Jewish writings; but from this it may be argued, that their Bath-Kol was no such voice from heaven as they pretend, but only a fantastical way of divination of their own invention, like the *sortes Virgilianæ* among the heathens: for as with them the words first dipped at in the book of the poet, was the oracle whereby they prognosticated those future events which they desired to be informed of; so with the Jews, when they appealed to Bath-Kol, the next words which they should hear from any one's mouth were the same. And this they called *a voice from heaven;* because thereby they thought the judgment of Heaven to be declared as to any dubious point they desired to know, and the decrees of Heaven to be revealed concerning the future success of any matter which they would be preinformed of, whensoever in either of these two cases they this way consulted it. The *sortes Virgilianæ*, on the failing of oracles, were made use of by the heathens in the place of them, as long as paganism remained among the Romans; and the Christians, when Christianity first began to be corrupted, learnt from them the like way of divination, and much practised it, without any other change, than by putting the book of the holy scriptures in the place of the book of the heathen poet.

CHAP. XVI.

The trial and punishment of false prophets.

THE prophetic spirit being so common among the Hebrews, it was necessary there should be a method of trial established, to prevent impostors, and to discern the false prophet from the true: for it could not be expected, but in a nation where there was such a number of prophets, many pretenders would arise, who would endanger the faith of the people, unless there were some certain way to find them out. The more effectually therefore to deter men either from counterfeiting a prophetic spirit, or to hearken to them that did, God appointed a severe punishment for every such pretender, who, upon legal conviction, was to be punished with death. The Jews generally understand this of strangling; as they do always in the law, when the particular manner of death is not expressed. And in that a false prophet and a seducer were distinguished from each other, that a seducer was to be stoned to death, under sufficient testimony; but the false prophet is condemned only to be put to death. The principal difference between the seducer and false prophet was, that the seducer attempted by cunning persuasions and plausible arguments, to draw the people off from the worship of the true God; but the false prophet always pretended divine revelation for what he persuaded them to, whether he gave out that he had the revelation from the true God, or from idols and false gods: so that the mere pretence to divine revelation was that which God would have punished with so great severity. The Jews tell us of three sorts of false

Deut. xviii. 20.

Deut. xiii. 6.

BOOK II. prophets who were to be punished with death by men, and three other sorts who were reserved to divine punishment. Of the first rank were these: first, he that prophesied that which he had not heard; and for this they instance in *Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, who made him horns of iron: and said, Thus saith the Lord:* this was the lying prophet. The second, he that speaks that which was revealed not to him, but to another; and for this they produce Hananiah the son of Azur: (but how truly I shall not determine:) this was the plagiary prophet. The third, he that prophesied in the name of an idol, as the prophets of Baal did: this was the idol prophet. These three, when once fully convicted, were to be put to death by the hand of men. The other class of those that were to be punished by the hand of Heaven consisted of these: the first, he that stifles and smothers his own prophecy, as Jonah did: by which it seems that when the divine Spirit overshadowed the understandings of the prophets, it offered no violence to their faculties, but left them to the free determination of their own wills in the execution of their office. But this must be understood of a lower degree of prophecy; for at some times their prophecies were as *fire in their bones;* they were never at any rest till they had discharged their commission. By this example of Jonah, it is observed, that though the spirit of prophecy, like the fire on the altar, could only be kindled from heaven; yet it might be destroyed when it was not maintained with something to feed upon: or when it met not with suitable entertainment from the spirits of those it fell upon, it might retreat back again to heaven, or at least lie hid in

1 Kings xxii. 11.

Jerem. xxviii. 11.

Jer. xx. 9.

the embers, till a new blast from the Spirit of God retrieved it into its former heat and activity. The second, he that despised the words of a true prophet, was likewise to be destroyed from among his people by the hand of Heaven. The last that was liable to be cut off, was the prophet who hearkened not to the words of his own prophecy; which was the case of the prophet sent to Beth-el, whom God slew in an unusual manner, for not observing the command which he had given him. 1 Kings xiii. 9.

It is the received opinion among the Jewish doctors, that the cognizance and trial of false prophets peculiarly belonged to the great sanhedrim, and that this was one end of its institution. So Maimonides, after he had largely discoursed upon the punishment of a seducer, and speaking of that of a false prophet, he lays this down as a standing rule among them: no false prophet was to be judged but in the court of seventy-one. The manner of trial (if we believe some of their writers) was thus: they observed the judgments threatened by a prophet, and likewise the good things he predicted. If the judgments took not effect, this did not prove him to be a false prophet, because God was merciful, as in the case of Hezekiah; and the people might repent, as the Ninevites did; but if he prophesied good, and that came not to pass, he was condemned as a deceiver and a false prophet. The reason of this probation they found upon the words of Jeremiah: *The prophet which prophesied of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known, that truly the Lord hath sent him.* But this does not give us the true difference; for the promises, as well as the threatenings of God, are De Idol. c. 5. s. 11. Ch. xxviii. 9. Jer. xviii. 7, 8, 9.

BOOK II.

many times conditional; so that the good things a prophet foretold might not come to pass, and yet he might be a true prophet, because the people proved unworthy of them, and God did not absolutely intend them. Therefore the test in the business of prophecy seems rather to be this; that if a prophet foretold such a thing which the power of nature could not produce, and gave it as a sign that God sent him, who would justify his mission by doing that wonder, and the thing did not come to pass, he was to be looked upon as not a man of God, or a true prophet: as Moses, who threw his rod upon the ground, and said it should become a serpent, if it had not, would justly have been convicted of falsity. If the words of a prophet were fulfilled in one or more particulars, he was not to be judged a true prophet, unless every thing he spake in the name of God came to pass. And when once he was convicted of imposture, and of pretending a divine commission, when God had not sent him, no character or interest was powerful enough to secure him from punishment; for to be afraid of such a person, and those who encouraged him, was esteemed a distrust of God, who is always a defender of those who defend the cause of religion.

Selden de Synedr. lib. iii. c. 5.

To the rule before mentioned the Jews make this addition, that a prophet, who had the testimony of another undoubted prophet, was to be esteemed a true prophet: and if he was a man of eminent virtue and upright life, he had a power to dispense with the observation of some precepts that were positively enjoined by the Mosaic law. Such a one was Elijah, who commanded an altar to be built upon mount Carmel, when sacrifices upon high

places were forbidden. But there was a necessity for it, says R. Solomon, that he might restore the true worship of God in Israel. There is one observation of the rabbins not to be forgotten upon this subject: that every prophet, whose name and his father's name is set down in his prophecy, was a prophet, and the son of a prophet: he whose name, and not his father's name, is expressed, it is certain was a prophet, but not the son of a prophet: he whose name, and the name of his city, is mentioned, was certainly of that city: he whose name is set down, and not the name of his city, was a prophet of Jerusalem: and he whose father's and father's father's name is expressed in his prophecy, was a person of higher rank and descent than he whose father's name only is set down.

CHAP. XVI.

Kim. Præf. ad Min. Proph.

CHAP. XVII.

Impostors among the Hebrews; offerers of children to Moloch.

THE trial of prophets prescribed by the Mosaic law was designed to prevent all occasions of consulting impostors, who might pretend to a prophetic spirit, and seduce the people into idolatry. There were many sorts of these unlawful practitioners in the times of Moses, who used diabolic arts among the heathens, and are distinguished in scripture by these names: *one that makes his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Moloch, a diviner, an observer of times, an enchanter, a witch, a charmer, a consulter with familiar spirits, a wizard,* and *a necromancer.*

Deut. xviii. 10, 11. 2 Kings xvii. 17. xxi. 6.

BOOK II.

The oblation of children to Moloch being frequently mentioned, together with other diabolical and divinatory arts, there is great reason to believe that there was something magical in this superstitious right; and thereby they consulted with demons about things future or secret. Moloch, it is certain, was the principal idol of the Ammonites; but yet not so appropriated to them, but that other neighbouring nations took the same for their god; for it appears from the pagan records that they were very friendly in that point, and frequently lent their gods to one another. This deity seems to have been the same with Baal, both of them signifying *dominion;* but more especially it signifies *the sun*, the prince of the heavenly bodies. It is plain, from several passages in scripture, that the old heathens (whom the Israelites were prone to imitate) not only made their children pass through the fire, but also offered them in sacrifice unto this idol. Both these impious rights were forbidden by the Mosaic law; the first without any penalty annexed, the last was to be punished with death. The ceremony of passing through the fire was used by way of lustration and purification, as they called it; and by this ceremony the children were dedicated to the service of this pagan god. And therefore, it being a right of initiation, we never find it mentioned in scripture, but only with relation to children, whom the Hebrews were forbidden to devote in this manner, which was in effect to alienate them from the service of the true God. The Hebrews, from whom we might expect some certainty about this savage right of passing through the fire, do not agree in their opinions concerning it. Some imagine that

the parents carried their children through the fires upon their shoulders, others that they were led between them by their priests. The father (as a Jewish doctor observes) delivered the child to the priest in the name of the idol, just as it is said concerning legal sacrifices, *he shall give them to the priest.* Others think that the priest, or somebody else, waved the child about in the very flame, while men and women danced round the fire, or leaped through the flame. And others again suppose that the children dedicated to the idol did not walk, but dance through the fire; which being an emblem and representation of the sun, plainly signified that such children were consecrated to that deity. And this comes nearer the Hebrew phrase as we translate it, that they did not pass *between* fires, but *through* the fire. But which way soever this ceremony was performed, whether they waved the child through the very fire, and presented it to Moloch, before whom the fire was kindled, or led it between two fires, or made it pass through by itself, when they had so done, the priest restored the child to the father again. And in some such way Ahaz (who perhaps introduced this idolatry among the Hebrews) made his son to pass through the fire, which cannot be meant of his burning him; for Hezekiah his son outlived him, and succeeded in his throne.

But besides the idolatry of making their children pass through the fire, it was a cruel superstition in the days of Moses to offer human victims, especially children, as sacrifices to the idol Moloch, and probably to divine by inspecting the entrails. Certain it is that children were really burnt upon the Gentile altars, especially in times of public calamity and

BOOK II.

distress, when they hoped to appease the anger of their enraged deities, by offering to them the dearest things they had. The Phœnicians offered their children to Saturn, who is said by the poets to have devoured his own children, and by many is thought to be the same with Moloch. And this horrid usage of sacrificing may be derived by wicked imitation from Abraham's offering up his son. To this purpose there is a passage out of Philo concerning the history of the Phœnicians. Saturn, whom the Phœnicians call Israel, having governed that country after his death, was made the star called Saturn. Of his wife Anobret he had one only begotten son, whom therefore they called Jeoud, that being the term for an only begotten son amongst the Phœnicians to this day. Upon the breaking in of a very destructive war upon the country, he takes his son, and having decently adorned him, and prepared an altar for him, sacrificed him upon it. The image of Saturn bore a near resemblance to that of Moloch. Saturn, the idol of Carthage, is thus described: it was made of brass, wonderful for its greatness, whose hands, extending towards the earth, were so hollow, (ready to grasp,) that the child that was put into them fell, as it were, into a mighty gulf of fire. The same description, in a manner, agrees with the idol Moloch, and the idolatry of his votaries. Our rabbins, says a Jewish commentator, of happy memory, say, although all houses of idolatry were in Jerusalem, Moloch was without, and the image was made hollow, placed within seven chapels, (according to the number, I suppose, of the seven planets.) Now whosoever offered flour, they opened to him the first of them; whoso offered turtles or

Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 16.

Kimchi in 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

pigeons, they opened to him the second; whoso offered a lamb, they opened to him the third; whoso offered a ram, they opened to him the fourth; whoso offered a calf, they opened to him the fifth; whoso offered an ox, they opened to him the sixth; but whoso offered his son, they opened to him the seventh. Now his face was like a calf, and his hands were stretched out as a man's that reacheth out to receive something from his neighbour; and they set him over the fire, and the priest took the child and put him between the arms of the idol, and there the child gave up the ghost. He was made of brass, says another writer, and was heated with fire under, till he was glowing hot; and then the priest put the child into his arms, and there he was burnt. And the priests made a noise in the mean time with drums, that the father might not hear the child's cry; and therefore the place was called *Tophet*, from *toph*, a drum or tabor, from the cry of the children. The place was likewise called *Gehenna*, which signifies *the valley of crying*. Œcumenius is of opinion that the star of Remphan, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, was a certain star painted in the forehead of the idol Moloch.

R. Sol. in Jer. vii. 31.

Acts vii. 43.

There is no punishment threatened by the law of Moses to those who made their children pass through the fire; but it was capital to sacrifice any of human seed to Moloch, and to be punished with death by stoning. If there was not sufficient proof against the votary to convict him, God resolved that he would himself take care to punish him by an utter excision both of soul and body. And as the idolater was liable to be punished in this manner,

BOOK II.

so they who favoured him, and would not testify against him when they knew him guilty, fell under God's high displeasure, who threatened to cut them off and their posterity.

Another sort of worship was exhibited to this idol, called *the taking up of the tabernacle of Moloch;* which was done by carrying the image up and down in tabernacles and pageants, after a solemn manner of procession. This kind of idolatry, perhaps, had its original from an unwarrantable imitation of Moses's tabernacle, which was nothing but a portable tent, to be carried from place to place as occasion required. There were chariots and horses likewise consecrated to this idol; but it is uncertain whether these creatures were kept to be sacrificed, or to be led in pomp (as some of the Jews speak) every morning to meet the rising sun. Or, as others take it, the worshippers of the sun got upon these horses early in the morning, and rode out to salute the sun at its first appearing. Some authors imagine that these chariots and horses were only statues made of some metal, and that the beasts were represented in the shape of griffins.

Hyde de Relig. vet. Pers. p. 117.

CHAP. XVIII.

A diviner, an observer of times, an enchanter, a witch, a charmer, a consulter with familiar spirits, a wizard, and a necromancer.

A DIVINER may be supposed to denote, not only the person who exercised the divinatory art, but those who consulted him and applied to him; for, after the pagan mode, they used to repair to such

on urgent occasions, to know what should befall them, or how they should act in particular emergencies. This is always represented in the holy writ as a very scandalous and detestable employment; and not without reason, for it was corresponding with the Devil. There were various methods of divination made use of among the eastern nations, and it is difficult to find out what kinds were in use and forbidden by Moses; but the best commentators agree that he had regard to some of these following customs.

It is probable that in the days of Joseph there was a divination by cups, (*Is not this the cup whereby indeed he divineth?*) though we know not now what it was. It is certain there was such a practice among the Greeks, who borrowed much of their religion from the Egyptians, particularly their observing the sparkling of the wine in their libations. It was usual for the heathens to divine by raking into the bowels of their sacrifices, particularly of human victims; and they often offered young children, on purpose that thereby they might make their auguries, and predict things to come. Another practice was to divine by casting or drawing of lots; which sort of divination was much in use among the Greeks and Romans, and had been so, it is likely, in more ancient times among the eastern nations. Some of the heathens, particularly the ancient Arabians, divined by arrows. Whether this art was used in the time of Moses is uncertain; but such kind of divination was in use among the eastern people in the days of Ezekiel, and, as many Christian fathers observe, was practised by the Jews. The words of the prophet to this purpose are these:

Gen. xliv. 5.

BOOK II.

Ezek. xxi. 21.

The king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright. The meaning seems to be this, that Nebuchadnezzar came to a place where two ways met, one led to the city Rabbath, and the other to Jerusalem. Now to determine which city he should first assault, he had recourse to this method: he wrote the names of the two cities upon several arrows, which were mixed together promiscuously in a quiver; and a boy, who was unacquainted with the matter, drew out one; and the name of Jerusalem being upon it, the king was determined to lead his army towards that city. Others deliver the manner of this consultation to have been thus: the consulter measured his staff by spans, or by the length of his finger, saying, as he measured, "I will go, I will not go;" "I will do such a thing, "I will not do it;" and as the last span fell out, so he determined. This custom seems to be referred to by the prophet Hosea, where he says, *My people ask counsel of their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them.*

Drus. in Deut. xviii.

Hieron. Cyril. in Ose iv. 12.

The prophet Ezekiel, in the same verse, mentions two other kinds of divination, which he calls *to consult with images*, or with *teraphim*, as it is in the Hebrew, and to look on the liver. The teraphim, it is generally believed, were a kind of penates, as the Romans called them, or household gods. But it is disputed among the Hebrew doctors, whether in ancient times they were worshipped as gods, or used only as instruments of divination; though most of them take them to have been figures in human shape, made by astrologers under certain constellations, and made capable of the heavenly in-

fluences; and that they were the same with the Arabian talismans in after-times. But the most probable conjecture is, that they were the representations of some angelical powers, (teraphim and seraphim being the same, only by the change of a letter,) who, they imagined, declared the mind of God by them: for in those countries, where the shechinah, or presence of the divine Majesty, did not appear, they had at least some tradition of it, and of the angels that were its attendants, the resemblance of which they made, in hope that by that means they might have a communication with them, and procure intelligence from heaven. Of this the evil spirits made their advantage, and abused mankind by the lying answers they gave to their inquiries; for there is no reason to believe that God allowed, much less appointed, the making of these teraphim. This had been to lead men into idolatry by image worship, to which they were too prone of themselves. The manner how these images were made is fondly conceived thus among the rabbies: they killed a man that was a firstborn son, and wrung off his head, and seasoned it with salt and spices, and wrote upon a plate of gold the name of an unclean spirit, and put it under the head upon a wall, and lighted candles before it, and worshipped it. The use of them was to consult with them, as with oracles, concerning things for the present unknown, or for the future to come.

To divine by the entrails of beasts was a practice generally received among the heathens; and because the liver was the principal member inspected, it was called *consultation with the liver*. In this kind of divination there was chiefly observed the

BOOK II.

colour of the entrails; their place, whether none were displaced; and the number, whether none were wanting; and the want of the liver was always understood to presage the greatest misfortunes.

An observer of times was one that used the art of magical prognosticators and soothsayers, who lay a mighty stress on some certain seasons and critical minutes, which they fancy depend on a particular position of the heavenly bodies; for the Gentile idolaters had a custom to predict future events, not only by viewing the skies and clouds, but chiefly by making the position and aspect of the luminaries of heaven; and upon consulting of these, it was their frequent practice to enter upon some magical operations. It was the opinion of a learned rabbi, that most of such kind of feats of old were effected by virtue of the stars, both fixed and planetary; and that those celestial bodies were thought to recompense their votaries with success in their magical undertakings; and, in way of return, these operators shewed great reverence to the stars, and constantly implored their aid and assistance: and therefore this he calls *the worshipping of the stars.* These persons pretended to read the fates of men and nations in the lights above: more especially, by virtue of their skill in that kind, they were able to observe times, to judge of days, whether they were good or ill, lucky or unlucky, (as they thought fit to term them,) for they made the world believe that certain days and times were more than ordinarily subject to the influence of such and such stars. It seems the Philistines were noted for this sort of imposture, and are therefore styled *observers of times;* for that is the proper import of the word; but

Maim. Mor. Nevoch. p. 1. c. 37.

Isai. ii. 6.

soothsayers (which our translators use) is too general a term. The same Hebrew writer takes notice, that jugglers, who delude the sight in playing their tricks, and seem to perform wonderful things, as vomiting fire, and transforming straws into birds, whether they do it by sleight of hand, or by other means, are comprehended under the name of an *observer of times.* And there are others also who think it includes such as pretended to tell fortunes.

An enchanter made omens, and guessed what should happen by some superstitious observation. But what that was, is not so easy to determine: those who follow the Seventy, and the vulgar Latin, take him for a diviner, by the flying, feeding, chirping, and other actions and postures of birds, and from thence presaging and foretelling things to come. But the word in the original signifying a *serpent,* and having no relation at all to birds, it seems rather to relate to the ancient divination by serpents. This practice was much in use among the old Gentiles, as appears by Homer, who introduces Chalcas seeing a serpent devouring eight sparrows with their dam, and from thence divining how long the Trojan war would last: not but that sometimes the term is used in a larger sense, and signifies one that fondly pretends to guess at futurities by other accidents; as from the falling of a crumb of bread out of one's mouth, or a staff out of one's hand, from men's sneezing, or the breaking of a shoe-latchet. And the excellent Maimonides interprets it of ominous accidents, (as they were by the superstitious reputed;) such as the chattering of a crow, the fall of salt, the being crossed on the way by a hare, or some other animal. Other judicious

Il. B. 300.

BOOK II. expositors understand it of lots, and thereby inquiring when it is safe to take a journey, to marry a wife, or to undertake any other business of importance. It being hard to judge among such variety of opinions, the learned are left to determine for themselves.

A witch was a person (and generally a woman) addicted to magic and evil arts, by which she had power to do mischief to men or beasts, and to change the form of things, by making them appear otherwise than they are. This sort of magical operation was very usual among the pagans; whence there was a law among the old Romans, and inserted into their twelve tables, against this hurtful and malicious fascination; and particularly that whereby the fruits of the ground were endamaged. Among other practices, these witches used their wicked skill to allure silly maids to consent to men's solicitations; and therefore the law about witches immediately follows the other about virgins. Epiphanius reports, from one that saw it, such a magical operation used by a Jew, to procure the love of a Christian woman, who was preserved from the power of his witchcraft by the seal of Christ, (as he calls the sign of the cross,) wherewith she fortified herself at the first attempt made upon her. And indeed the Jewish nation have been always extremely addicted to witchcraft; and some of their famous rabbins have been suspected of it. A witch by the law of Moses was to be stoned.

Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 7.

Exod. xxii. 18.

Hæres. xxx. n. 7, 8.

A charmer, as we render it in our English Bibles, or, more exactly according to the original, *one that charmeth a charm*, the Jews say, was a person that practised magic by the use of certain words and

voices, as well as signs and ceremonies, instituted by the Devil to effect something above the power of man; to charm a serpent, for instance, that it shall not sting, or to preserve from any other harm. This sort of enchanters are called *mutterers*, because they generally use a low and imperfect kind of pronunciation, that their words may not be heard by the vulgar, and that their spells (as they call them) may be the more effectual. But especially they used words composed into number and verse; and thence a charmer is translated by the Septuagint, *one that sings his song*. And to this sort of superstition the world was so addicted, that the law of Moses could not bring the Jews quite off from it; but when they threw away their other charms, they used the words of scripture instead of them; pretending, for instance, to cure wounds by reading that verse in the law, *I will put none of these diseases upon thee.* But there is another notion of the word, which in the original imports *conjoining*, or *associating*, as if it had respect to a diabolic compact. This is he that by a correspondence and agreement with some evil spirit causes such and such things to be done, or hinders the doing of them. This is not an improper exposition of a charmer, which distinguishes him from all the other retainers to demoniacal magic here specified. Ludolphus, in his comment upon the Ethiopic history, gives a judicious account of the words that we render *charmer*, by translating them "gathering together a company." It seems, it was an ancient way of enchantment to bring, by the power of magical arts, various kinds of beasts together into one place; which the rabbins distinguish into *the great congregation*, and *the little*

Deut. xviii. 11.

Exod. xv. 26.

Maim. de Idol. c. xi. sec. 10, 12.

Cap. xvi. num. 116.

BOOK II. *congregation:* the great was, when they assembled a great company of the larger sort of beasts; and the less, when they gathered as great a company of the smaller, such as serpents, scorpions, and the like. And this practice is in use among the eastern nations at this day.

A consulter with familiar spirits, or, as it is rendered by the Seventy, one *that speaks out of his belly*, was a person who dealt directly and immediately with or by the Devil, and had such a way of pronouncing his words, that he was thought to speak out of some hollow vessel. Accordingly the word used in the original signifies a *bottle*, or hollow vessel; and it became the name of such who counterfeited voices, as if they were strange, and more than human. Sorcerers and wizards used to do this, to cheat and delude the people who came to inquire of them. They delivered their answers as if they spoke out of a bottle, or some other concavous vessel. So the woman of Endor is called *the mistress of the bottle*, from which she spoke to them who came to consult her. In one place, indeed, the Seventy translate the word by *speaking out of the earth;* because the voice coming from the lower parts of the person possessed, seemed to proceed out of the earth. The manner of it was thus: after certain fumes and other ceremonies, a voice seemed to come from under the armholes of the person that had the familiar spirit, which answered to the questions that were asked: but if it came from under the armholes, still it was so low and hollow, as if it proceeded from the bottom of the belly, or the cavities of the ground. Others imagine, such persons were swelled with the spirit, as a bladder is when it is blown.

1 Sam. xxviii. 7.

Isai. xix. 3.

But however it was, this practice continued till the times of the gospel, as appears by the woman who had the spirit of Python, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

A wizard was the same with a cunning man, or a fortuneteller, as we vulgarly speak; one, who by the flight of fowls, or shrieking of birds, or entrails of beasts, than which nothing was more usual among the Gentiles, professed to foretell future events. To this purpose there is a story in Eusebius, taken out of the Jewish history of Hecatæus, that when Xerxes had ordered his army to halt, while his wizards observed the flight of a fowl, a Jew who was in the troop understanding it, shot the bird dead; and by that means exposed the folly of consulting a creature who had no foresight of its own misfortune. Maimonides will have it, that these deceivers (who were always men, as the consulters above were mostly women) obtained the knowledge they pretended to, by putting the bone of a certain bird called *jaddua* into their mouths, with certain fumes and adjurations, which made them fall into an ecstasy, and foretell things to come. But by what practice soever they acquired their skill, it is certain that this sort of magicians were very knowing and expert in the choicest mysteries of this hellish art: they pretended to be the sagacious interpreters of all the great occurrences of the world; and especially undertook to amuse people with portentous accidents that happen; and thence the Hebrew word is rendered by the Seventy an *inspector*, or observer of prodigies, which are made use of by him to devilish purposes. Manasseh, who was a thoroughpaced magician, was not defective as to

Præpar. Evangel. lib. ix.

BOOK II.

this; and this was the general practice of the pagan world, (from whence Manasseh and other Jews borrowed it,) and particularly of the Egyptians. These wizards were the most skilful sort of diviners, and dealt in prodigies, wonders, and events of the highest nature, which distinguished them, as I apprehend, from the rest of their fraternity in this place. They who consulted with these impostors, or with those who had familiar spirits, if they committed this sin knowingly, and there were witnesses of it, were to be stoned. If no evidence could be produced, they were left to be cut off by the hand of Heaven. The deceivers, if they were discovered and convicted, were likewise to be stoned to death.

Isai. xix. 3.

The last in the catalogue is a *necromancer;* or, exactly according to the Hebrew, one that *seeks unto the dead,* who understands that particular branch of the magic art which consists in consulting the dead, in order to be acquainted with the future state of the living. It is not easy to discover wherein this impostor differed from one that had a familiar spirit, as we translate it; for the woman whom Saul consulted, who had a spirit, inquired also after this manner; their spirit, it seems, instructing such persons to call for the dead to appear to them. But some perhaps had not such a spirit, who notwithstanding consulted the dead, by going to their graves in the night, and there lying down, and muttering certain words with a low voice, that they might have communion with them by dreams, or by their appearing to them. A necromancer is thus described by Maimonides: He is one who, having afflicted himself with fasting, goes to the burying-place, and there lies down and falls asleep, and

In Avada Zara, c. xi. sect. 15.

then the dead appear to him, and tell him what he desires. Such are they also who put on a certain kind of garment, speak some uncouth words, and make a fume, and then lie down alone, that the dead whom they desire may come to them, and discourse with them in their sleep. To this impious practice the Gentiles were very prone; and it was thought so high an attainment to come to this knowledge, that Julian the apostate, who was ambitious to be admitted into all the pagan mysteries, secretly practised necromancy in the most retired part of his palace, cutting up the bodies of virgins and boys, to bring up the dead to him: which was far more impious than what the Talmudists relate of such persons, that they used to burn the secundine of a black cat when she had first kitlings, and beating it very small, put some of the powder upon their eye, which made the demons appear to them. To conclude this subject, it is worth observation, especially by some who are addicted to scepticism in our days, that the writings of Moses, the ancientest and most authentic records in the world, bear witness that there is such a thing as diabolic magic or witchcraft, and that there are persons that employ themselves in the study and practice of the several parts of it. This is manifest from the particular names and titles given by Moses to the students and practitioners in this art. And though perhaps one of them singly speaks not so much, yet it is certain that all of them put together do prove evidently that there are those who hold alliance with the damned ghosts, and by their assistance perform many wonderful operations.

Tit. Beracoth.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Nazarites, votaries among the Hebrews; and Rechabites.

BOOK II. THERE are two sorts of votaries mentioned in the old law, Nazarites and Rechabites. A Nazarite was a person who by a vow of his own separated himself from others by a profession of some special acts of religion, and beyond the common prescription of the law dedicated himself to God in a peculiar kind of sanctimony. And from hence this vow was called *the great vow*, and *separation unto the Lord;* and those who observed it, practised a higher measure of purity than other men, and, with respect to holiness, were ranked in the same class with the high priest, being forbidden to pollute themselves by the death either of father or mother. This vow was either perpetual, and for life, or for a time, which the Jews say was at least for thirty days: but it appears by St. Paul, that it might be for a week only, and every one might vow for what time he pleased. Women, if they thought fit, might make a vow of Nazarism as well as men, if they were absolutely at their own disposal, and not under the power of their parents or husbands, by whose authority this vow might be cancelled. And though it be expressly said in the law, that a person was to separate himself by a voluntary dedication; yet sometimes the parent would set apart the child: as Hannah vowed Samuel to be a Nazarite before he was born. And sometimes God himself, by immediate appointment, would separate a Nazarite; of which kind there were no more than two, Samson and John the Baptist. When a woman

Acts xxii. 26.

carried a Nazarite in her womb, she was bound to observe the same restrictions in her diet as the Nazarites did, and perhaps all the time she nursed him: and lest she should defile herself by going up and down, and by that means contract a pollution upon the child unborn, she usually hid herself, lived retired from company, and sequestered herself from common conversation.

One part of the special sanctity of a Nazarite consisted in a total abstinence from wine, or any thing that was intoxicating, that he might the better attend to the study of the law, and other exercises of religion; which justifies in part what Maimonides says, that Nazarites were advanced to the dignity of priests, who were not allowed to drink wine or strong drink in the time of their ministration. This interdiction relating to sobriety was so severe, that they were obliged to avoid the drinking of any liquor made of other fruit, as dates; to taste no vinegar made of wine, nor wine made by macerating the grapes in water, after the juice had been pressed out; nor to eat moist or dried grapes, nor paste or sauce that had any infusion or juice of the grapes in it, nor pulp or stone, or so much as the bark of the vine.

A second part of Nazariteship consisted in letting the hair grow: no razor or scissors, or any other instrument, was to come upon the head, till the time of the vow or separation was expired; for long hair made persons look venerably, and a neglect of it was proper for those who renounced for the present all manner of pleasure, and betook themselves to a severer sort of life. Besides, this was a sign that the votary had kept himself pure from all legal de-

BOOK II.

filements, otherwise his head must have been shaved. This law some fancy to have been translated from the Egyptians into the religion of the Hebrews. St. Cyril of Alexandria is of opinion, that Moses, knowing how hard it would be to bring the Israelites from the ill customs they had learnt in Egypt, most wisely instituted the like rites with those that were in use there, that they might not perform such worship any longer to demons, but to the true God. But this notion is not to be allowed; because there is no proof that this ceremony of consecrating the hair to demons was so old among the Egyptians as the time of Moses. It is therefore far more probable, that the original of this custom among the Gentiles flowed from the Jewish Nazarites; and the heathens were so fond of this superstition, that they consecrated their hair, not only in honour of their gods, but also to rivers, in which they thought there was some divinity.

Lib. xvi. de Adorat.

It is to be observed here, that the Jews distinguish between what they call a *Samson* Nazarite, and an *everlasting* Nazarite; not but that Samson was a Nazarite always; but they use this distinction in reference to the manner of making the vow: he that took on him to be a Nazarite like Samson, as saying, Behold I will be a Nazarite like Samson, or like the son of Manoah, or like him that carried away the gates of Azzah, or like him whose eyes the Philistines put out, such a one might never cut his hair, but it must ever grow upon him: and such a Nazarite did Absalom (at least by a feigned vow) take upon himself to be; but he was forced to cut his hair once every year, because the weight of it was so burdensome to his head. But a person that

was a Nazarite everlasting, who took upon him Nazarism upon other terms, as he that said, I will be a Nazarite according to the number of the hairs of my head, or the dust of the earth, or the sand upon the seashore, was allowed to poll his head once in thirty days; but his hair was not to be burnt, because his vow was not expired.

The last branch of the religion of a Nazarite was to avoid the touch of a dead body, nor be in the house where a corpse was, or to follow it to the grave; for such defilements occasioned a pollution for seven days, and kept men from the sanctuary; and therefore this injunction was laid upon the Nazarites, that they might be always fit to attend upon divine service. They were bound to avoid this uncleanness for father or mother; because the hair upon their head, which was unshorn, shewed them to be *separated* by a peculiar vow (as the word is in the Hebrew) to God and to religious uses. So strict was this law of the Nazarite, that if he chanced to light upon a dead body unawares, (as, if a person should die near him by an apoplexy, or by violence,) though he could not help being surprised, yet he was defiled; the hair of his head, which was consecrated, was polluted; and therefore could not be offered to God, nor burnt in his honour. His Nazariteship was interrupted by this defilement, so that he could not proceed further till he was purified: he was unclean seven days, and on the seventh he was to begin his purification by shaving his head. All other legal uncleannesses polluted a Nazarite so, as to require him to be purified as other men used to be in those cases; but to be defiled by the dead derived such a stain upon him, as absolutely

BOOK II. to put him out of the state of Nazarism, and oblige him to begin again. But this is not to be understood of perpetual Nazarites, who were consecrated for their life; for they were never shaven, whatever defilement they contracted. Upon the eighth day he was to bring two turtles or young pigeons to the priest, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; he was likewise to offer a lamb for a trespass offering: and thus he was to atone for his defilement, which was a kind of sin, as it was a breach of a ceremonial law. From this eighth day he was to begin to compute the time of his Nazariteship for the time he at first vowed, though his vow was upon the point of being accomplished: and thus he was to behave as often as such an accident happened; for no human power could absolve him from this vow, till it was fulfilled in the exactness that is here required. If a Nazarite died in the time of his separation, Maimonides says, any of his sons might go on where he left, and at the end of the days which his father had vowed, he might offer the appointed sacrifices, and be shaved in his place. But this indulgence, he confesses, is not founded in scripture, but depends wholly on tradition.

A Nazarite, when his vow was expired, was obliged to offer the following sacrifices: a he lamb of the first year without blemish for a burnt offering, as an acknowledgment of God's supreme dominion; a ewe lamb of the first year without blemish for a sin offering, imploring pardon for omissions he might be guilty of, during this vow; and a ram without blemish for a peace offering, in gratitude to God for assisting him to fulfil it. These sacrifices,

that is, the burnt offering and the peace offering, were to be accompanied with the ordinary meat offering and drink offering; and had added to them over and above a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and wafers of unleavened bread anointed with oil. These victims and oblations the Nazarite was to deliver to the priest at the door of the tabernacle, who received them, and offered them upon the altar of burnt offering. And now was the votary allowed to shave his head, and was obliged to bring his hair (which was holy after the accomplishment of his vow) into the room of the Nazarites, (which stood, under the second temple, in the north-east corner of the court of the women,) and to burn it under the caldron where his peace offering was boiling. This was done as a testimony that his Nazarism was at an end, and that he was no longer obliged to let his hair grow; and this every Nazarite was obliged to do, though he polled his head in the country; which was the case of St. Paul, who shaved his head in Cenchrea. Then was the priest to take the left shoulder of the peace offering as it boiled, and a cake, and a wafer of unleavened bread, and to put all into the hands of the Nazarite, and wave them; and then was the vow completed, the votary was restored to his former freedom, had liberty to drink wine, and to be defiled by the dead; and the priest had upon this occasion the wave shoulder given him, as a token of the Nazarite's gratitude for his cleansing. These sacrifices he was obliged to offer, though never so poor; but his friends were allowed to assist him in the expense; and if he was rich, he and his friends might join to provide voluntary

BOOK II. offerings, besides those prescribed by the law. We read that St. Paul, by the advice of St. James and the elders at Jerusalem, was at charges with certain men that had this vow upon them, and purified himself with them; which was agreeable to the custom among the Jews, for others to help the Nazarites to fulfil their vow, and partake with them in it, by abstaining from wine, from shaving their hair, and pollution by the dead, for some time, in the same manner as they did. I have no more to add upon this head, but that the habit of a Nazarite, during his separation, was a garment of hair, called by the Hebrews *addareth.* Such a one was worn by John Baptist, as Elijah did before him, whose mantle is called by this name; from whence Grotius concludes, that either he was a Nazarite, or that the habit of a prophet and a Nazarite was the same.

Acts xxi. 23, 24.

In Matt. iii. 4.

The Rechabites were a sort of votaries among the Hebrews, descended from Jethro the father-in-law of Moses, and his son Hobab, from whom came Rechab, who was called *the Just.* It is uncertain when they first formed themselves into a society; but they always had orders and regulations peculiar to themselves: they were remarkable for their strict piety and integrity of life, and were originally called Kenites. They likewise had the name of Scribes; because they studied the law, and were very ready in the expounding of it. Jonadab, the son of Rechab, seems to have refined their old discipline, and gave them a set of statutes and laws, which the sect ever held in the greatest reverence; and they always appealed to his injunctions, as the founder of the fraternity. Their vow consisted of these obligations: they were bound to drink no wine, nor to build

Jer. xxxv.

houses, but to dwell in tents; nor to sow seed, nor to plant vineyards, nor to have any, but to give themselves up to a contemplative life, and avoid all occasions of luxury and avarice, that so they might be prepared to leave the world upon a sudden summons, and without reluctance. For which reason they lived in desert and solitary retirements, and never, but in cases of war, and extreme necessity, resorted to cities and populous places; which shews that their vow was not so strictly obliging, but it might upon urgent occasions be dispensed with. This religious society was highly approved of by God, who, because of their perpetual and solemn observance of the rites of their fathers, promised, that Jonadab, the son of Rechab, should never want a man to stand before him for ever.

CHAP. XX.

The sects among the Hebrews, the principles and practices of the Pharisees.

WHEN prophecy ceased in the Jewish church, a rigid superstition and a spirit of faction succeeded, and produced a number of parties and heresies, by which the state was miserably afflicted, the divine law corrupted and depraved, the majesty and purity of it debased by the teachers of those times, and made subservient to lust, avarice, and ambition, and the vilest purposes of a wicked life. These divisions related either to the church or the state, and were partly religious, partly political, and partly distinct; and though they spread into many branches, yet they may with propriety enough be compre-

BOOK II. hended under these denominations, Pharisees, Scribes, Sadducees, Karraites, Essenes, Publicans, and Galilæans.

The Pharisees were so called from the word *perash*, importing *exposition*, or rather *parash*, implying *separation;* because they were separated from all others in their extraordinary pretences to piety, and in a singularity of holiness and devotion. It is uncertain when this sect began to appear in the world, though it is most commonly believed to be about three hundred years before our Saviour's birth. However, in a short time it became a bold and daring sect, not fearing to affront princes and persons of the greatest quality: they were crafty and insinuating, and by a show of mighty zeal, and infinite strictness in religion, above the ordinary rate of mankind, had procured themselves a strange veneration from the people; they gave themselves up to infinite niceties and superstitious practices, which they pretended to fetch out of their traditions, such as to eat separately, frequent washings and purifications, in which, and innumerable other trifles, they were so exceedingly scrupulous, that they made the neglect of them of equal guilt with the greatest immorality, not fearing to assert that he who eats bread with unwashen hands is as if he lay with an harlot; and if any came to a house where there was not water enough to wash and to drink, the Pharisee would choose to wash, though he died with thirst. Yet notwithstanding their specious pretences to an extraordinary sanctity and severity, they were but religious villains, and the most insolent and implacable generation that ever any age produced, disdaining and trampling upon all but their own

party, and accounting the rest as slaves and sons of the earth. They were spiteful and malicious, griping and voracious, merciless dealers, and most superlatively censorious and uncharitable; and it is hard to say which was most predominant, their insatiable avarice, their insupportable pride, or their unfathomable hypocrisy. They would fast often to obtain fortunate dreams, and to avert threatening evils, particularly upon Mondays and Thursdays; because Moses, they say, went up into the mount upon a Thursday, and came down upon a Monday. They were no less exact in the payment of their tithes, even to things of the least value and smallest concernment, and were as careful in paying the best of their increase, as the top of the heap, the flower of the wheat, and the first running of the wine. CHAP. XX.

They discriminated themselves from the herd and community, not only by their sour and sanctified countenances, but also by some peculiar notes and badges of distinction. They wore particular habits, such as a robe longer than ordinary, to distinguish them from the vulgar; from whence came the maxim, that the garments of the people of the land were to them as the shoes of him that had an issue. The fringes which the Jews were obliged to wear at the bottom of the four skirts of their garments, and by which they were distinguished from the people of other nations, the Pharisees enlarged and extended to a greater length, so that they swept the ground, and became the more observable. The design of these fringes was to put them in mind of their duty to God; and therefore they used to fix sharp thorns in them, that by the often pricking of the thorns, whether they walked or sat still, they

BOOK II.

might be the more mindful of the divine commands. Their phylacteries likewise they wore broader than the common sort, as an evidence of their strict sanctity. These phylacteries were four paragraphs of the Mosaic law, written upon two parchments, which they wore about them continually, as memorandums of their observance of the law, and testimonies of their devotion; and therefore they are called in the Greek tongue *phylacteria*, or *observatories*. St. Chrysostom was of opinion that the whole Decalogue was written upon these parchments. But this is a mistake; for in their public prayers they always rehearsed the Ten Commandments, and then they said their phylacteries. It is therefore upon better grounds supposed that four portions of the law were written upon these parchment labels, which were these: the first began, *Sanctify unto me all the firstborn*, taken out of the thirteenth of Exodus, to the end of the tenth verse; the second began, *And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee*, taken out of the same chapter, from the eleventh verse to the seventeenth; the third began, *Hear, O Israel*, taken out of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, beginning with the fourth, and ending with the ninth verse; the last began, *And it shall come to pass, if you shall hearken diligently*, beginning at the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of the same book, and ending with the one and twentieth. The manner and curiosity of writing these sentences in their several columns, and on what parchment, and with what ink, is largely described by Maimonides, but not of importance sufficient to concern us at this time. I shall only observe the reason why these were used rather than any other

In Matth.

In Tephill. p. 1.

sentences of the law; which was, because in every one of the sections there is mention either of those words, being *frontlets between their eyes*, or *a memorial between their eyes*, or that they should *bind them upon their hands;* and accordingly the place where they wore those two parchments was, the one upon their foreheads downwards towards between their eyebrows, and the other upon their left arm. It is disputed whether the whole nation used these phylacteries indifferently, or only those who were called *the scholars of the wise*, who pretended to more knowledge, devotion, and study of the law, than the common people. It seems certain that the Sadducees, though they could not comply with the traditions of the Pharisees, yet that they used phylacteries as well as they, but only differed in opinion about the place where they should wear them. And that husbandmen, tradesmen, and the rest of the common people, wore these parchments, may be reasonably collected from a passage in Maimonides, where, speaking of those things for which a man might be allowed to pass by a synagogue whilst the service was performing, he says; were his phylacteries seen upon him, then that was a sign that he did not neglect the law; and so, though he had occasion to pass the synagogue at that time, yet his phylacteries appearing spake for him, that it was not for want of devotion, but that he was called away by some necessary occasion, and so could not attend. And it is generally believed that the Jewish children were brought up from their infancy in rehearsing the phylacteries, that is, as soon as they were capable of being catechised. However the commonalty did not wear these phylactery parch-

Ubi supra.

BOOK II.

ments as the learned did, yet both were equally obliged to say over the phylactery sentences every day in the morning, from the opening of the day till sun-rising; and in the evening, (as the Jews distinguish,) from the time that the priests go in to eat their offerings until the end of the first watch. This rehearsal is commonly called by the Hebrews *the saying over of Shema*, because one of the sections began with, *Shema, Israel: Hear, O Israel;* which, though it be not the first of the four as they stand written in the book of the law, yet was it ever said first; and the reason is given, because it contains the first and the foundation of all other duties, and that is, *to love the Lord.* Now besides the daily rehearsal of these sentences morning and evening, to which they were all bound by their traditions, they esteemed it a great piece of piety to say them over at the hour of death. They used them likewise as preservatives; and superstitiously conceited that, as by amulets, spells, and charms hanged about their neck, they should be preserved by them from dangers, and secure from the power of evil spirits. This is sufficient to shew the nature and use of these phylacteries, which the Pharisees, for ostentation, made very broad and visible, that they might procure a proportionate fame among the vulgar; for these were always looked upon as arguments of meditation upon the divine law, and certain evidences of singular holiness and devotion.

As to the religious principles of the Pharisees, they believed a resurrection of the dead, and that there are angels and spirits. But, according to Josephus, this resurrection of theirs was no more than a Pythagorean resurrection, that is, of the soul only

De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 12.

by its transmigration into another body, and being born anew with it. From this resurrection they excluded all that were notoriously wicked; for of such their notion was, that their souls, as soon as separated from their bodies, were transmitted into a place of never ending pain, there to suffer the punishment of their sins to all eternity. But as to lesser crimes, their opinion was, that they were punished in the bodies which the souls of those who committed them were next sent into. What this sect believed concerning predestination and freewill is difficult to determine; for, according to Josephus, they held absolute predestination with the Essenes, and freewill with the Sadducees, jumbled both together; for they ascribed to God and fate all that is done, and yet left to man the freedom of his will. But how they made these two apparent incompatibles consist together is nowhere sufficiently explained. Perhaps they intended no more than that every man freely chooses what he is unalterably predestinated to. But if he be predestinated to that choice, how freely soever he may seem to choose, he has certainly no freewill; because, according to this scheme, he is unalterably necessitated to all that he does, and cannot possibly choose otherwise.

But the principal distinguishing character of this sect was, their zeal for the tradition of the elders, which they derived from the same fountain with the written word itself, pretending both to have been delivered to Moses from mount Sinai, the latter only committed to writing, the other delivered from generation to generation by tradition; and therefore they ascribed equally to both the same

BOOK II. authority, and thought themselves bound to observe the oral law with the same strictness as the written, or rather with much more; for the written law, they say, is in many places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule without the oral; which containing, according to them, a full, complete, and perfect interpretation of all that is written in the other, supplies all the defects, and solves all the difficulties of it. Hence have the Jews in all ages magnified and extolled this traditionary law above the written with the most extravagant and blasphemous commendations. They tell us that this is the foundation of the law, for whose sake it was that God entered into covenant with the Israelites; that, without this, the whole law would lie in the dark, be mere obscurity and darkness itself, as being contrary and repugnant to itself, and defective in things necessary to be known; that it is joy to the heart, and health to the bones; that the words of it are more lovely and desirable than the words of the law, and it is a greater sin to violate the one than the other; that it is little or no commendation for a man to read the Bible, but to study the Mishna is that for which a man shall receive the reward of another world; and that no man can have a peaceable and quiet conscience who leaves the study of the Talmud to go to that of the Bible; that the Bible is like water, but the Mishna and Talmud (in which are contained their traditions) are as wine and hippocrass; that the written law is only as salt, but the Mishna and Talmud as sweet spices. By these, and many other sayings very common among them, do they express the high veneration they bear towards the oral or traditionary law, and the little

regard they shew to the written word in comparison of it, making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the traditionary law alone the soul that gives the whole life and essence to it. This being the opinion of the Pharisees, and the body of the Jewish nation, concerning traditions, which they call their *oral law*, it may not be improper to inquire into its original; and this for the present will serve for a short account of it.

They tell us, that when Moses waited upon God forty days in the mount, he gave him a double law, one in writing, the other traditionary, containing the sense and explication of the former. Being come into his tent, he repeated it first to Aaron, then to Ithamar and Eleazar his sons, then to the seventy elders, and lastly to all the people, the same persons being all this while present. Aaron, who had heard it now four times recited, Moses being gone out, again repeated it before them. After his departure out of the tent, his two sons, who by this time had heard it as often as their father, made another repetition of it; by which means the seventy elders came to hear it four times; and then they also repeated it to the congregation, who now also had heard it repeated four times together, once from Moses, then from Aaron, then from his sons, and lastly from the seventy elders. After which the congregation broke up, and every one went home, and taught it his neighbour. This oral law Moses upon his death-bed repeated to Joshua, he delivered it to the elders, they to the prophets, the prophets to the wise men of the great synagogue; the last of whom was Simeon the Just, who delivered it to An-

BOOK II. tigonus Sochæus, and he to his successors the wise men, whose business it was to recite it; and so it was handed through several generations. After several ages, it came at last to Rabbi Jehuda, commonly styled by the Jews *our holy master*, the son of Rabban Symeon, (who flourished a short time before Antoninus governed the Roman empire,) who, considering the unsettled and tottering condition of his own nation, and how apt these traditionary precepts would be to be forgotten, or mistaken, by the weakness of men's memories, or the perverseness of their wits, or the dispersion of the Jews in other countries, collected all these laws and expositions, and committed them to writing, styling his book *Mishna*, or *the Repetition*. This was afterwards illustrated and explained by the rabbins dwelling about Babylon, with infinite cases and controversies concerning their law; whose resolutions were at last compiled into another volume, which they called *Gemara*, or *Doctrine;* and both together constitute the entire body of the Babylonish Talmud, the one being the text, and the other the comment. The folly and vanity of this account are sufficiently evident, and need no confutation. Yet this is the foundation of the traditionary law, in such esteem with the sect of the Pharisees, that they valued its authority even beyond the testimony of miracles. And though many of their traditions are burdensome, and almost insupportable, yet this sect has almost devoured all the rest, having had for many ages none to oppose them except a few of the Karraites; for, excepting them only, the whole nation of the Jews, from the destruction of the temple to this present time, have gone wholly into the pharisaical opinions,

and received all their traditions for divine dictates, and to this day observe them with much greater regard and devotion than the written word itself. So that they have in a manner, for the sake of their traditions, annulled all the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, and set up the Talmud to be their Bible in the place of them.

The Pharisees were distinguished into several branches; the most remarkable of which were called by the name of *Zealots*, by some accounted a distinct sect. These were a most outrageous and ungovernable people, fierce and savage, who being zealous assertors of the honour of God's laws, and the strictness and purity of religion, assumed to themselves a liberty of questioning notorious offenders, without staying for the ordinary formalities of law: nay, when they thought fit, and as the case required, they executed capital punishments upon them with their own hands. Thus when a blasphemer cursed God by the name of any idol, the zealots that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever bringing him before the sanhedrim. They looked upon themselves as the true successors of Phinehas, who, in a mighty passion for the honour of God, did immediate execution upon Zimri and Cozbi; which action was so pleasing to God, that he made with him, and his seed after him, the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for Israel. In imitation of him, these men took upon them to execute judgment in extraordinary cases; and that not only by the connivance, but with the permission both of the rulers and the people, till in aftertimes, under a pretence

Numb. xxv. 13.

BOOK II.

of this, their zeal degenerated into all manner of licentiousness and wild extravagance. And they not only became the pests of the commonwealth at home, but opened the door for the Romans to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable ruin. They were continually encouraging the people to throw off the Roman yoke, and vindicate themselves into their native liberty; and when they had turned all things into hurry and confusion, themselves in the meanwhile fished in these troubled waters. Josephus gives a large account of them, and everywhere speaks of them as the public plague of the nation. He tells us that they made no scruple of robbing and plundering, and to kill the principal of the nobility, under pretence of holding correspondence with the Romans, and betraying the liberty of their country: and upon the merit of this they assumed to themselves the titles of benefactors and saviours of the people. They abrogated the succession of ancient families, thrusting ignoble and obscure persons into the office of the high priest, that so they might oblige the most infamous villains to their party. And, not contented to affront men, they injured the Majesty of Heaven, and proclaimed defiance to the Divinity itself, breaking into and profaning the most holy place. They styled themselves *zealots*, says our author, as if their undertakings had been good and honourable, while they were forward to promote the greatest wickedness, and outdid the worst of men. Many attempts were made, especially by Annas the high priest, to reduce them to order and sobriety; but neither force of arms nor fair and gentle methods could prevail upon them. They persisted and held on in their

De Bell. Jud. lib. iv.

violent proceedings; and joining with the Idumeans, committed all manner of outrage, and slew many of the high priests themselves. So that when Jerusalem was straitly besieged by the Roman army, they never left off to promote tumults and distractions within, till their intestine quarrels ended at last in the sacking of the city.

There are seven other sorts of Pharisees mentioned in both the Talmuds, which will be worth describing, if it be only to shew to what madness this sect arrived, as well as to what a degree of hypocrisy. *A Shechemite Pharisee,* who was circumcised, not for the honour of God, but for the sake of profit and self-interest. *A dashing Pharisee,* who walks in humility, and withdraws himself from the crowd in the streets: he moves slowly, the heel of one foot touching the great toe of the other; nor does he lift up his feet from the earth, so that his toes were dashed against the stones. *A Pharisee that lets out his blood;* he would shut his eyes when he walked abroad, to avoid the sight of women, and press himself so close against the walls that he might not touch those that passed by; by which means he hurt his feet, and made them bleed. *A Pharisee of the mortar,* who wore a loose coat in the shape of a mortar, with the mouth turned downwards; for his garment was straiter above, and narrower below: or, as others say, he wore a hat resembling a deep mortar, so that he could not look upward, nor of either side, but only downward or straight forward. *The Pharisee who says, Let me know what my duty is, and I will do it:* as if he should say, There is no man can shew me wherein I have transgressed. *A Pharisee for love,* who

BOOK II. obeyed the law for the love of virtue. *A Pharisee for fear*, who followed the law for fear of punishment. He that conformed for fear, had regard chiefly to the negative commands; and he who obeyed for love, respected more particularly the affirmative. It might be added, that there were women who voluntarily professed themselves of this sect of the Pharisees, as well as men. They were generally widows or pretended maids, who, under the veil of sanctity and devotion, concealed and practised all manner of debauchery and wickedness.

CHAP. XXI.

The scribes.

IN conjunction with the Pharisees the scribes are often mentioned in the scriptures of the New Testament; which word more properly signifies the name of some office or function than of any sect, they being more ancient than any sect among the Jews. These were persons of great repute, being called in the New Testament *scribes of the law*, *teachers of the people*, *doctors of the law*, and sometimes *lawyers;* and as such this office began immediately after the Babylonian captivity, above five hundred years before the nativity of Christ, Ezra himself being one of the first. They were a body of the most learned men of the nation, and generally of the tribe of Levi, who were distinguished by the title of *scribes of the clergy;* those who were not derived from the Levitical stock, but, as the Jews say, from the tribe of Simeon only, being called *scribes of the people*. The business of the lay

scribes was to undertake to copy the Bible for any who had occasion for it: for so various is the accuracy and exactness of the scripture-text in the mystical signification of letters, vowels, and accents, that it was not proper for every one to attempt to transcribe the original, or that every vulgar pen should copy things of so sublime speculation. Therefore there was a peculiar order of learned men among the Jews, whose office it was to take care to preserve the purity of the text in all Bibles that should be copied out, that no corruption should creep into the original of sacred writ: and these were called *scribes of the people.* Those who were men of learning, and scholastic education, were likewise employed as public notaries in the sanhedrims and courts of justice, and as registers in the synagogues. And they not only transcribed the book of the law, but they wrote out phylacteries, short sentences to be fixed upon the doorposts, bills of contracts or divorce, and other matters of civil or religious concern. Out of these it is probable that some, of the best accomplishments among them, were made choice of to attend upon the king as his secretaries, called *the king's scribes.* And to qualify them for these offices, they were entered students in some public academy, (of which there were eight and forty belonging to the Levitical tribe,) where they studied with great application, till they were capable of these employments.

The office of the scribes of the clergy was to preach in public, and to instruct the people; for they were more constant teachers than any other of the clergy; taking upon them to be the most certain and regular interpreters and expounders of the

BOOK II. law in sermons: in which respect they may be compared to canonists in the church of Rome, or the divinity-lecturers in some public universities. And they grew into such repute in the Jewish state, that it was hard to say whether the Pharisees or they were held in the greater veneration; for what the Pharisees gained in the common people, by their pretensions to an extraordinary sanctity, these obtained more justifiably by their zeal for the written word, which they preserved from the common dangers of corruption and contempt. And though these scribes were more properly an order than a sect, yet since they were so closely linked with the Pharisees, and concurred with them in most of their corruptions and superstitions, we may look upon them as a strong and powerful faction, of great authority and influence in affairs of the greatest importance. They both are represented to sit in Moses's seat upon the legislative bench, and presided in the courts of justice, being called *the fathers of the sanhedrim*. But there was a degree of scribes who sat in this court, not in the capacity of legislators or judges, but as men learned in the law, whose office it was to explain cases of difficulty, and with whom the fathers consulted when any debates arose about the execution of justice.

CHAP. XXII.

Titulary distinctions among the Pharisees and scribes, rab, rabbi, rabban, &c.

THE scribes and Pharisees are likewise joined in scripture, and censured for their pride and vain af-

fectation of swelling titles and names of distinction, and loved to be called *rabbi, rabbi.* This and other titles of their doctors, as *rab* and *rabban,* began to be in use but a small time before the birth of Christ. The prophets, and the men of the great synagogue, and all the generations from the times of Hillel, were satisfied to be called by their bare names only; but Simeon, the son of Hillel, (who is supposed to have taken our Saviour in his arms,) was the first doctor with a title, and he was called *rabban.* From his times, and forward, titles came exceedingly into request, and none more common than the title *rabbi,* as appears frequently in the gospel, and infinitely in their own writers. This honourable distinction they admired, notwithstanding the dissembled axiom among them, "Love the work, but hate the title." Now the reason why this titularity was in use in these times, and not before, may be supposed to be one or both of these: either because of the contest fomented continually between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, which commonly differed in judgment in every thing almost that came before them, and assumed epithets of honour in opposition to one another; or, because the Jewish learning about that time was vainly supposed to have arrived at its utmost height: and therefore it is no wonder that the men who pretended to learning grew fond of titulary distinctions; especially considering what the Talmud observes of the scholars of Hillel, who were eighty in all; and thirty of them, they say, were worthy that the divine glory should rest upon them, as it did upon Moses. It was with the Jews at this time, as it proved afterwards among the Christian doctors, who, when piety, truth, and humility pre-

BOOK II. vailed, were content with their bare names; but when pride and error succeeded, then the epithets of *seraphic* and *angelic*, and other ostentatious names, came into fashion and entertainment. These distinguishing titles imported mastership, doctorship, or principality, and were higher in regard and dignity one than the other. *Rabbi* was a more excellent name than *rab*, *rabban* was more excellent than *rabbi*, and the simple name without any title, as Haggai, Zachary, Malachi, was more excellent than *rabban*. *Rab* was the more proper title of the Babylonian doctors, *rabbi* of the Judæan, and *rabban* was ascribed to seven men only.

The discipline used in the Jewish schools in conferring titles was in this manner: the scholar was called a *disciple* in respect of his learning, a *junior* in respect of his minority, and one *chosen*, or *elected*, in regard to his election or cooptation into the number of disciples. After he had proved a good proficient, and was thought worthy of a degree, he was, by imposition of hands, made a graduate, or companion to a rabbi. This ceremony was observed in imitation of Moses towards Joshua, and was followed with this form of words; "I associate thee, "and be thou associated." When he was thought capable of teaching others, he was called *rabbi*. And whereas in his minority, his own name being suppressed, he was called only by his father's name, *the son of N*, when he was made a graduate by imposition of hands, then was he called by his own name, *N*, *the son of N*, and afterward, when he was judged able to teach, then was the title of *rabbi* prefixed after this manner; *rabbi N*, *the son of N*. For instance, Maimonides was at first called *Ben*

CHAP. XXII.

Maimon, the son of Maimon; after his degree he was called by his own name, *Moses ben Maimon*, Moses the son of Maimon; at last, being licensed to teach, then was he called *Rambam;* which abbreviation consisting of capital letters, signifies, *Rabbi Moses ben Maimon*, rabbi Moses the son of Maimon. This distinction of scholars, companions, and rabbies, appears by what was said by one of their teachers: "I learned much of my rabbies or masters, "more of my companions, most of all of my scholars." When any public disputations were held in their schools or synagogues, their rabbies sat in reserved chairs, which are the chief seats which the scribes and Pharisees so much affected; their companions sat upon benches, or lower forms; the scholars upon the ground at the feet of their teachers.

P. Fagius in Scholiis ad cap. 4. Pirke Abot.

The Pharisees, who taught and propagated the traditionary doctrines, have been distinguished by several other appellations, according to the different ages wherein they lived. From the time of the men of the great synagogue, to the publishing of the Mishna, they were called *tannaim*, or traditionaries; and they are the Mishnical doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the Mishna was composed: and from the time of publishing the Mishna, to the publication of the Babylonish Talmud, they were called *Amoraim*, or dictators, because they dictated those explications upon the Mishna which are contained in the Gemara; and they are the Gemarical doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the Gemara was drawn up. For about a hundred years after the publication of the Talmud they were called *Seburaim*, or opinionists; for they did not deliver any doctrines, but

BOOK II.

only inferred opinions by disputation, and probable arguments from what had been before dictated and received in the Mishna and Gemara. After that, they had the appellation of *geonim*, or sublime and excellent doctors, so called from the excellency and sublimity of their learning. But for these latter times the general name of *rabbi* is that whereby their learned men are distinguished, there being no other title among them for near seven hundred years past: for, about the year one thousand and forty, all their schools in Mesopotamia, where only they enjoyed these high titles, being destroyed, and all their learned men expelled thence by the Mahometan princes who governed in that country, they have since, with the greatest number of their people, flocked into these western parts, especially into Spain, France, and England; and from that time all these pompous titles which they affected in the East being dropped, their men of learning retain no other names but *rabbi;* excepting only that those among them who minister in their synagogues are called *chacamim*, or wisemen. This title, though in itself general and common to all teachers and doctors of the law, yet for many years before our Saviour's incarnation was arrogated by the Pharisees, and appropriated to them by the vulgar, from an opinion of their extraordinary wisdom in teaching traditions; from whence they were called *the masters of the traditions.* A *wiseman* was a title of the greatest dignity in the Jewish state, and took place of the highest officers among them, according to this account of precedency: a wiseman is to take place of a king, a king of a high priest, a high priest of a prophet, a prophet of one anointed

Jerus. Horaioth.

for the war, the anointed for the war of a president of the courses, a president of the courses of the head of a family, a head of a family of a counsellor, a counsellor of a treasurer, a treasurer of a private priest, a private priest of a Levite, a Levite of an Israelite, an Israelite of a bastard, a bastard of a Nethinim, a Nethinim of a proselyte, a proselyte of a freed slave. But when is this to be? when they are equal as to other things. But indeed if a bastard be a disciple, or a wiseman, and the high priest be unlearned, the bastard is to take place before him. A wiseman is to be preferred before a king; for if a wiseman dies, he has not left his equal; but if a king dies, any Israelite is fit for a kingdom.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Sadducees.

THE next principal sect among the Jews were the Sadducees, opposite to the Pharisees both in temper and principles; so called either from Sadoc, who lived near three hundred years before our Saviour's birth, and is supposed to be the founder of the sect; or from *sedek*, which signifies justice, as though they were the only exact distributers of justice, and able to justify themselves before the tribunal of God. These pass under a very ill character, even among the writers of their own nation, being styled wicked men, of very loose and profligate lives; which is no more than the natural consequence of their principles, this being one of their established opinions, That the soul is not immortal, and that there is no future state after this life.

BOOK II. They denied the resurrection of the dead, the being of angels, and all existences of the spirits or souls of men departed. Their notion was, that there is no spiritual being but God only; that as to man, the present world is his all; that at his death body and soul die together, never to live more; and that therefore there is no future reward or punishment. They confessed that God made this world by his power, and governs it by his providence, and, for the carrying on of this government, has ordained rewards and punishments, but that they are in this world only; and for this reason alone was it that they worshipped him, and paid obedience to his laws. In short, they were Epicurean deists (as the Pharisees in many points followed the Stoics, and the Essenes imitated Pythagoras) in all other respects, excepting only that they allowed that God made the world by his power, and governs it by his providence. The occasion of this dangerous heresy is said to have been a mistake of the doctrine of Antigonus of Socho, who was president of the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and the great teacher of the Jewish laws. This eminent doctor was used to press his scholars not to be like mercenary servants, who in an abject manner served their masters purely for advantage; but to serve God from a principle of filial love, and for his own sake, without expectation of future rewards. Which being misunderstood, two of his scholars, Sadoc and Baithus, absolutely concluded that their master had denied any state of rewards in another life; and therefore separating themselves from his school, they began that sect among the Jews, which from the name of Sadoc, the first founder, were called Sadducees. But this

CHAP. XXIII.

Talmudical story is disputed by learned men, who assert that there were some who denied the resurrection of the dead in the days of Ezra. At the conclusion of all prayers in the temple they said *for ever;* but when the heretics brake in, and said that there was no age but this, Ezra and his consistory ordained that it should be said *for ever and ever*, to imply that there was another world beside the present, and to root out of the heart the opinion of those that deny the resurrection of the dead. After the time of Ezra and his great synagogue, (which continued many years after his decease,) Simeon the Just executed the office of high priest for forty years; and Antigonus of Socho, the master of Sadoc, succeeded him in the chair of the sanhedrim: so that though the Sadducees were with good reason charged with denying the resurrection of the dead, yet that heresy appears to have been in being when there were no heretics called by the name of Sadducees. It is not to be denied that the Sadducean heretics received their name from Sadoc; but there is good reason to believe that the heresy of the Sadducees concerning the resurrection was older than that name, and had infested the Jewish church before Sadoc was born; and therefore it follows, that this wicked doctrine did not arise from the words of Antigonus, misunderstood by Sadoc and Baithus, but was of a more ancient original, when as yet the prophets Zecharias, Malachi, and Ezra himself were living, if Ezra were not the same with Malachi, as the Jews suppose. The words of the prophet last mentioned, *Ye have said, It is in vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinances?* &c. sufficiently point at such

Rab. Berac. fol. 54.

Mal. iii. 14.

BOOK II.

a heresy. It is not therefore improbable but this heresy might arise from misunderstanding the words of Ezekiel in the former part of the thirty-seventh chapter: the prophet speaks of a resurrection of *dry bones*, which some understanding according to the letter, and observing no resurrection immediately to follow, imagined that there would never be any afterwards. And this doctrine increased and grew into a sect, till at length Sadoc and Baithus took upon them to assert that it was confirmed out of the chair by Antigonus their master, and president of the sanhedrim.

These heretics were strenuous opposers of the Pharisees, and utterly rejected their traditions, for which they were so zealous, teaching that men were to keep to the letter of the law, and that nothing was to be imposed upon their belief or practice, but what was expressly contained in the Pentateuch: and if it be true what the Talmudical story above-mentioned relates, that Sadoc, on the first publishing of his doctrine, was forced, for the impiety of it, to fly to the Samaritans for refuge, it is possible that he might learn this part of his heresy from them; for they admitted only the five books of Moses, rejecting all other parts of the holy scripture, as well the prophets as the hagiographa. But it seems most probable that the Sadducees rejected these books, because they found them inconsistent with their doctrine; for many places of the prophets and the holy writings confirm evidently the being of a future state and a resurrection from the dead. Some learned men are of opinion that they did not reject the other scriptures, but only gave a preference to the five books of Moses above them:

but the account which is given in the gospels of the disputes between Christ and these heretics, proves the contrary; for no other reason can be given why he never produced any arguments against them out of the prophets and hagiographa, where there were many not to be opposed, but drew all his proofs from the law only, but because they had rejected the authority of those scriptures, and believed wholly in the books of Moses. The harmony of this sect with the Samaritans, in rejecting all traditions, and receiving no scriptures but the Pentateuch, has given occasion to the Jews to load the Samaritans with the imputation of agreeing with them in denying the resurrection from the dead; whereas in this article they are more sound than the Jews themselves, and so continue to this day.

Another branch of the Sadducean heresy related to freewill and predestination; for whereas the Essenes held all things to be predeterminated, and fixed in an unalterable concatenation of causes never to be varied from, and the Pharisees allowed a freewill in conjunction with predestination, the Sadducees differing from both, denied all manner of predestination whatever; their doctrine being, that God had made man absolute master of all his actions, with a full freedom to do either good or evil, as he thought fit to choose, without any assistance to him for the one, or any restraint upon him as to the other: so that whether a man does good or evil it is wholly from himself; because he has it absolutely in his own power to do the one and avoid the other. It is their acting upon this principle that has occasioned the remark upon them, that whenever they sat in judgment upon criminals, they

BOOK II. always pronounced the severest sentence against them. And indeed their general character was, that they were a very ill-natured sort of men, churlish and morose in their behaviour to one another, but cruel and savage to all besides. Their number was the fewest of all the sects of the Jews; but they were usually men of the better rank and quality, who having the greatest opportunities of following a loose and debauched life, were ready to take sanctuary in those opinions which most extinguished the apprehension of an after-reckoning. For this reason the Sadducees ever appeared most vigorous in preserving the peace, being the most implacable in their punishment of all tumults and seditions, lest they should interrupt their soft and easy course of life, the only happiness their principles allowed them to expect. This sect seems to have perished in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; for we find no mention of them for many ages after, till their name was revived again in the Karraites, whose principles and opinions this is a proper occasion to describe.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Karraites.

THE Karraites, though by way of reproach they were called Sadducees by the other Jews, yet they agree with them in nothing else but in rejecting traditions, and abiding only by the written word; not that they absolutely reject all traditions, but only deny them the same authority with the written scriptures: they admit them as human helps, of

use to interpret the written word, and regard them as the opinions of former doctors, but refuse to put them upon the same level with the written word, as the other Jews do. The voluminous book of the Talmud contained a collection of all their traditions, to which they required the same deference and veneration to be paid as to the scriptures themselves, founding all their articles of faith upon its dictates, and regulating their practice by its directions and precepts. This book was published about the beginning of the sixth century after Christ; but the nonsense and fabulous relations contained in it were at last detected by men of learning, who could not believe that such gross and incredible stuff could be inspired by God; and therefore they could not give up their faith to it. Their belief they reserved wholly for the written word, the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa, and admitted the other as a work of human composition, proper to explain and interpret the scriptures in such passages where it should be found conducive to that purpose. This dissent went on for some time, without making any division among them, till about the year of Christ seven hundred and fifty, one Anan, a Babylonish Jew, of the stock of David, and Saul his son, both men of learning in their way, declared openly for the written word, and publicly disclaimed all manner of traditions, except such as manifestly agreed with it. This opposition produced a schism, one party standing up for the Talmud and its traditions, the other rejecting both as the inventions of men. The rabbies, and their scholars and followers, were chief advocates for traditions; from whence that party obtained the name of *Rabbinists;* and

BOOK II. the other contending for scripture only, had the name of *Karraites;* for the scripture in the Babylonish language is called *Kara.* Under these two names the controversy was carried on, and so continues to this day. The Jews tell us that this schism was wholly owing to the ambition and disgust of Anan; who being denied the degree of *gaon,* (a title to which their highest doctors were promoted at that time,) and being afterwards refused the presidentship of the captivity at Babylon, which he claimed as a descendant from the seed of David, in revenge promoted this division among the people. This sect is still in being, and are esteemed to be men of the best learning and strictest probity of all the Jewish nation. There are very few of them, if any at all, in these western parts: most of them are to be found in Poland, Russia, and the eastern countries; and, upon a computation in the middle of the last century, their number appeared to be between four and five thousand, which make but a small number in respect of those of the other side.

CHAP. XXV.

The Essenes.

THE Essenes were a sect originally of Pharisaic extraction; but they reformed upon them, and set up for a more severe and unblamable rule of life than the Pharisees did. They are supposed to begin in the times of the Maccabees, above a hundred and fifty years before the nativity of Christ, after the violent persecutions of Antiochus had forced great numbers of the Jews to retire to the woods

and mountains; though others derive them from the Kenites, whom they succeeded in dwelling in the wilderness, and in strictness and austerity of life. There is no very certain account of the original of their name; but it seems to flow from the Syriac word *asa*, which signifies to heal or to cure diseases; from whence they are so often called *Therapeutæ*. As to fate and freewill, their opinion was for an absolute predestination, without allowing to man a liberty of choice in any of his actions: and as to the principles concerning a future state and resurrection from the dead, they affirmed that the souls of men were immortal, and to live eternally in happiness or pain, as their actions deserved; but they should no more return to their own or any other bodies for ever. We find no mention of this sect in the New Testament; because, it is likely, they were an honest and sincere sort of people, and never concerned themselves with Christ or his apostles; yet it is the opinion of many judicious men, that our Saviour and St. Paul did sometimes allude to their customs and discipline. Their way of life was very peculiar and remarkable; and to give a perfect view of it, it will be proper to take notice of what Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, relate of their opinions and practices. These are the most ancient authors who speak of this sect, and are the original of what all other have said concerning it. The character given them by Josephus is as follows:

De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 7.

The Essenes are by nation Jews, the most united and friendly people one with another under the sun. They have the same aversion to pleasure that they have to vice, and reckon upon continence and the command of the passions as a virtue of the first

BOOK II. rate. They have no great reverence for marriage; but for other people's children that they take under their care while they are young and tender, they value them as their own flesh and blood, and train them up accordingly. They are not yet against marriage, as enemies to the race and succession of mankind; but they have an opinion that the fair sex is frail and intemperate, and hardly to be kept within the compass of fidelity to one single man. As to the matter of wealth, and the goods of this world, they have it all in contempt, and do not so much as know what it is to be rich or poor; for it lies all in common, as a condition of the society. By this means no man shall be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich; but the whole party shall live like brethren, being all equal sharers in one common patrimony. They will not suffer any oil to come upon their bodies; or if such a thing should happen, they are never quiet till they get it out again. They value themselves upon the plain simplicity of their appearance, though never so coarse, provided only that their garments be white and clean. They choose their stewards for the receipt and management of their revenues out of the best men they have, and leave it to their discretion to make a distribution of them to every man in proportion, according to his wants. They have no one certain place of abode, but disperse themselves up and down into several cities, where they are ever ready and open to entertain all comers of their own sect, and as free as if they were at home, though they never saw one another in their lives before. They carry nothing about them when they travel, but arms for their security against thieves.

In every city there is a principal person appointed as procurator, to take care of strangers of that sect, that they want neither lodging, food, garments, nor other necessaries. The dress they wear resembles that of children when they are under the charge of masters and governors. They never change either their garments or their shoes but when the one is torn and the other worn out. They neither buy nor sell among themselves, but help one another with what they want; and what one wants the other supplies, not by the way of exchange; but the one is obliged to give, and the other at liberty to receive.

They are the strictest people towards God of all men living: they make a conscience of speaking one word of common business before the sun rises; but they have certain traditional forms of prayer for that occasion, imploring particularly from God, that the sun might shine upon them. After this act of devotion they are all dismissed to their several tasks and employments; and when they have studied and wrought hard till eleven at noon, they meet again with linen clothes thrown over them, and so wash themselves all over with cold water. Upon this purification they retire to their cells, where no mortal of any other profession is allowed so much as to breathe upon them; from thence they enter into the refectory, or dining-room, which they account little less holy than the temple itself. When they have stayed there a while without a word speaking, the baker brings up every man his loaf, and the cook every man his plate or mess of soup of the same sort, and sets it before him. The priest then blesses the meat, and not a creature dares so much as touch

BOOK II. it till the grace be over: and so after dinner another grace again; for they never fail to give God thanks both before and after meat, as the author of the blessing. This duty being over, they quit their habits, as in some measure sacred, and so to their ordinary work till evening. They go next to supper, as before, where they sit together, guests and all, if they have any, at the same table. There is no manner of noise or disorder in those houses: they speak by turns; and this way of gravity and silence gives strangers a great veneration for them. This is the effect of a constant course of sobriety, in their moderation of eating and drinking only to suffice nature.

They are not allowed to do any thing without the advice of their superiors, saving only in offices of assistance and compassion, and there they are left at liberty; for every man is free to help the virtuous, and to relieve good men in want: it is true they are not allowed to give any thing to their relations without leave of their governors. They are great masters of their passions, men of good faith, lovers of peace, and their word is at least as sacred as their oath; for they do effectually look upon the taking of an oath to be worse than perjury, and account of him for a liar, and a man of no credit, that cannot be believed without bringing in God for a witness. They have a mighty reverence for the works and writings of antiquity, especially in what concerns either the good of soul or body; as in the case of remedies for diseases, the virtues of plants, metals, stones, minerals, and the like.

When a man has a mind to come into the society, he is not immediately admitted, but they keep him

out of the pale for one whole year, admitting all of the same class of novices into the same order of diet, giving every man also a pickaxe, a girdle, and a white garment, as aforesaid. When a man has been long enough among them to give some competent proofs of his continence and virtue, they change his course of diet, and allow him the benefit of purifying waters to wash himself. But he is not yet admitted to the table in the refectory, till he has stood a two years' probation for his integrity and good manners; and upon that trial he is taken into the society. But before he is admitted as an established member of the community, he is first to bind himself by solemn execrations and professions to love and worship God, to do justice towards men, to wrong no creature willingly, no, nor to do it though commanded; to declare himself an enemy to all wicked men, to join with all the lovers of right and equity, to keep faith with all men, but with princes especially, as they are of God's appointment, and his ministers. He is likewise to declare, that if ever he comes to be advanced above his companions, he will never abuse that power to the injury of his subjects, nor distinguish himself from his inferiors by any ornament of dress or apparel; but that he will love and embrace the truth, and bring false speakers to justice. He binds himself likewise to keep his hands clear from theft and fraudulent dealing, and his soul as untainted with the desire of unjust gain; that he will not conceal from his fellow professors any of the mysteries of his religion, nor communicate any of them to the profane, though it should be to save his life. And then for the matter of his doctrine, that he shall deliver nothing but what he

BOOK II.

hath received; that he will endeavour to preserve the doctrine itself that he professes, the books that are written of it, and the names of those from whom he had it. These protestations are made use of as a test for new comers, and as a security to keep them fast to their duty.

Upon the taking of any man in a notorious wickedness, he is excluded the congregation; and whoever incurs that sentence comes probably to a miserable end; for he that is tied up by these rites and sacraments is not allowed so much as to receive a bit of bread from the hand of a stranger, though his life itself were in hazard: so that men are driven to graze like beasts, till the flesh rots from the bone. In this distress the society hath sometimes had the charity and compassion to receive some of them again, when they were at the very point of death, computing that the punishment they suffered might in some degree atone for the offence.

In the administration of justice they are the most regular and exact people alive; they determine nothing but what is carried by a hundred voices at least; and when the judgment is once past, there is no recalling it. Next to the supreme authority of God himself they reckon that of their legislators, making it death to speak ill of them, or to blaspheme them. They ascribe great honour to their elders, and to the majority of the people, and think it very reasonable to obey the one and hearken to the other. When there are ten together in council, no particular person is to speak, if the other nine be against it. They make it a matter of immorality to spit toward the middle of the company, or upon the right hand.

They are the strictest observers of the sabbath of all sorts of Jews; for they do not only make ready their sabbath-day's meal the night before, to avoid kindling a fire upon that day; but they dare not so much as remove a pot or a dish from one place to another, or ease themselves of the necessities of nature. Upon other days, when they are pressed at any time to step aside, they take a pick-axe, as I said before, and open the ground a matter of a foot deep: when they have discharged themselves, they fill up the hole again, out of a superstitious scruple not to pollute the beams of the sun with such an object; and though there be no more in it than a natural purgation, it is yet followed with the solemnity of a formal purification.

The people that make profession of this manner of life are divided into four sorts, according to their respective obligations; and the younger are reputed so much inferior to their elders, that if they do but touch one another, they are obliged to purify, as if it were upon the contact of a stranger. They live to a great age, a hundred years and upwards many of them; which I ascribe in a great measure to the simplicity of their way of feeding, and to the temperance of their manners. They are firm and hardy against all dangers, and resolute to the contempt of torments; insomuch that they account an honourable death much more desirable than life itself. We need go no further for the proof of this assertion than to the war between the Jews and the Romans. And upon several occasions what torments did the Jews endure! as burning, breaking of bones, and all manner of pains, rather than let fall one irreverent word of their legislator, or touch one morsel of for-

BOOK II. bidden meat; but with a cheerfulness of countenance, in the very anguish of their pains, defying and triumphing over their very tormentors, and delivering up their souls with a serene constancy of courage, in the assurance of exchanging a present life for a better to come. They firmly believe the mortality of the body; and that the soul being of the same substance with the subtilest air, is incorruptible and immortal, and by a kind of natural inclination or attraction shut up in the flesh as in a prison; but when it shall be freed from these corporeal bonds, as out of a long slavery, it shall then cheerfully mount up to the regions of endless bliss. This opinion suits well enough with some conceits of the Greeks, who fancy a place beyond the ocean, where there is neither rain, nor snow, nor raging heat, but only gentle refreshing gales: and this do they make to be the seat of the blessed souls. As for the wicked souls on the other hand, they stand condemned to impetuous tempests, killing frosts, and everlasting pains and groans, world without end.

This is much after the Grecian story of the fortunate islands, which are the places set apart for the entertainment of those glorious spirits they call *heroes* and *demigods*. And then they have their hell too, in the description of an infernal pit, with plagues and punishments for such as Sisyphus, Tantalus, Ixion, Tityus, and the like, computing all this while the soul to be immortal, from the natural disposition it hath to the love of virtue, and to the detestation of vice; for good men are made better even in this world, by the hope of better things yet to come in another; beside the check that it puts to impiety and lewdness, when men shall come to

consider, that though they may escape the eye and the stroke of human justice in this world, divine vengeance will yet find them out in that to come, and punish them with pains everlasting. This is the philosophy of the Essenes upon the subject of the soul; and we find very few, when they have once imbibed this doctrine, that ever depart from it. There are among the Essenes also that take upon themselves to foretell things to come, building their confidence upon ancient prophecies and holy writ, and not without preparatory sanctifications to fit them for the work. But be it as it will, they seldom fail in their predictions.

There is now another sort of Essenes, agreeing with the former in the same meats, manners, and laws, but they are yet divided upon the point of wedlock; for they look upon those that are directly against marriage as the professed enemies of mankind, that is to say, in cutting off the succession, and extinguishing the race. Now if all people were of the same mind, the world would quickly be at an end. But they proceed with this caution yet; that the woman must be subjected to a three years' probation, and if she shall be found in a condition of health fit for childbearing, she shall be reputed, after that trial, qualified for marriage. The women are likewise to be covered when they wash, as the men are. So far Josephus in this place.

Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2.

The same author in his book of Antiquities, which he wrote some years after, adds to the former account in this manner. The Essenes ascribe the government of the world to God's providence, without any exception: they hold the immortality of the soul, and celebrate justice, both in practice and doc-

BOOK II.

trine, as the sovereign virtue. They send their gifts to the temple, without going thither themselves; for they offer their sacrifices apart in a peculiar way of worship, and with more religious ceremonies. As to their conversation, they are men of excellent morals, and their whole business in the world is husbandry: they are eminent for their justice beyond either Greeks or Barbarians, as a virtue that hath been a long time their application and study. Their goods are all in common, without any distinction of rich and poor among them: they have neither wives nor servants; for they look upon the one as an encroachment upon the natural liberty of mankind, and the other as a circumstance that carries trouble and uneasiness along with it; so that they choose rather by a mutual exchange of good offices to help one another. This is their way of life, and they reckon themselves to be upward of four thousand souls in this society. Their treasurers and commissaries are men of integrity, chosen from among their priests; and it is their care to make provision out of the fruits of the earth for the feeding and maintaining the whole body. They live upon the main much at the rate of the Plisti among the Dacians.

In libro cui titulus, Omnis probus liber.

Philo the Jew is the next, or indeed the first that speaks of this sect; for he wrote before Josephus, being by much the older of the two. But Josephus was the better qualified to describe the principles and manners of the Essenes; because he conversed among them in Judæa, and lived under their discipline; and therefore his account I chose to insert first; for Philo being a Jew of Alexandria, knew nothing of the Essenes of Judæa but by report

only: but with the Essenes of Egypt he was indeed better acquainted; for though the principal seat of them was in Judæa, yet there were many of them in Egypt, and in other places where the Jews were dispersed; and therefore Philo distinguished this sect into the Essenes of Judæa and Syria, and the Essenes of Egypt and other parts: the first he called *practical Essenes*, and the other he calls *therapeutic*, or contemplative; and of each he gives the account that follows:

Among the Jews who live in Palestine and Syria, there are some whom they call *Essæans*, about the number, as I think, of four thousand. Their name is derived, upon the account of their piety, from the Greek word ὅσιος, which signifies *holy*, though the derivation be not according to the exact rule of grammar; and as they are most religious worshippers of God, they sacrifice no living creature to him, but rather aim to form their minds into a state of holiness, as a more proper oblation to him. They chiefly live in country villages, and avoid cities, by reason of the vices that are familiar among citizens, being sensible, that as it breeds diseases to breathe in a corrupt air, so to converse with bad company often makes an incurable impression upon the souls of men. Some of them labour in husbandry, others follow trades and manufacture, confining themselves to the making only of utensils of peace, endeavouring by that means to benefit themselves and their neighbours. They do not scrape together silver or gold; nor do they affect to possess large tracts of land, out of a desire of plentiful revenues, but labour only to supply the necessaries of life. They are in a manner the only persons

BOOK II. living who are without money, and without possessions, (and this by their own choice, rather than by the want of good fortune,) and yet think themselves rich, judging their occasions little, and that contentment with any thing keeps them always in possession of abundance. You shall not find among their mechanics who attempt to make arrows, or darts, or swords, or headpieces, or corslets, or shields, or any armour or engines, or any other instruments whatsoever that are used in war; nor will they make such utensils of peace as are apt to be employed in doing mischief.

Merchandising, trafficking, and navigation, they never so much as dream of, rejecting them utterly as motives to covetousness. There is no such thing as a servant among them; but they are all mutual helps to one another: they condemn the authority of masters over servants, not only as unlawful and prejudicial to piety, but also as impious, and contrary to the law of nature; which, they say, brings forth and nourishes all men alike, and as a common mother has made them all brothers; but that wicked covetousness, destroying all kindred, has produced strangeness instead of familiarity, and enmity instead of friendship.

As to philosophy, logic they leave utterly to such as quarrel about words, esteeming it useless for the attainment of virtue. Natural philosophy in all its branches (except what concerns the being of God, and the original production of all things) they give up to those who have time upon their hands to treat of such matters; because they think it above the abilities of man to arrive at a perfect knowledge of them. But they consult much with ethics or mo-

ral philosophy; from whence they extract the laws, which are such as could never proceed from the mind of man, without the assistance of divine inspiration. In this study they read lectures, but especially upon the seventh day; for this day they esteem holy, and desist from all other work upon it; and upon this day they resort to their sacred places called *synagogues*, where they sit in order according to their seniority of standing in the society, the juniors being placed below their seniors, and all composed with decency to hear the word. One takes the Bible and reads out of it, and then another of a superior skill expounds what has been read, and what is above his knowledge he passes by. Their manner of expounding consists chiefly in parables, after the method that has been anciently in use among them. They are informed in the principles of religion and holiness, of justice, economy, politics, in the knowledge of what is morally good and evil, and what is indifferent, what is proper to choose, and what to avoid; and they judge of every thing as it agrees with the love of God, with the love of virtue, and with the love of their neighbour. They give many demonstrations of their love to God; for instance, their constant and unalterable chastity as long as they live, their abstaining from swearing and lying, ascribing to God the cause of all good, and never making him the author of evil: of their love to virtue, they give instances in their hatred to covetousness, ambition, and bodily pleasure; in their continence, their patience, their plainness, their wanting little, their contentment with any thing, their modesty, their obedience to the laws, their stability of mind, and other such

BOOK II.

virtues: and of their love to their neighbour, they give evidences in their benevolence, in their evenness of behaviour, which is greater than can be well expressed, their having all in common, of which it will be proper in this place to give a particular account.

No man's house is properly his own; but every member of the society that shall come to it has an equal interest in it; for as they live together in sodalities, eating and drinking at the same common table, so all the fraternity that come from any other place are certain to be received there. There is one common treasury that belongs to them all, from whence the charge of clothes and provisions is furnished in common for all the community, according to their several sodalities into which they are distributed. Their way of living together under the same roof, of eating of the same meats, and sitting at the same table, is such as is established in no other place, or any thing like it. What they acquire by their daily labour they have no right to themselves, but deliver it all into the common stock, from whence provision is made for the use and benefit of the whole society; and if any among them fall sick, he is not neglected as a person unable to work; but they take all possible care to recover his health out of the common stock, which they have liberty to use as freely as they please. The juniors pay great reverence to the elders of the society, and regard them in such a manner as legitimate children respect their parents, assisting them with their hands, and their counsels, and providing whatever may contribute to the comfort and support of their old age.

Thus far is the account of Philo relating to those

he calls *practical Essenes;* the contemplative he describes in this manner. CHAP. XXV.

De Vita contemplativa.

Having spoken of the Essæans who lead a practical life, I come now to treat of those who embrace the contemplative. The men among them have the title of *therapeutæ*, and the women *therapeutides*, agreeable to their profession, either as they profess the art of physic, (not that commonly practised, by which the bodies of men are cured, but a much more valuable physic, which heals diseases in the souls of men, much more obstinate and difficult to be removed, the effects of wilful voluptuousness, concupiscence, grief, fears, covetousness, follies, injustice, and an innumerable train of other passions and vices,) or else they have this name by learning from the law of nature, and the sacred precepts of the holy scriptures, to worship and serve that Being who is better than good, more uncompounded than the number of one, and more ancient than unity itself.

They who enter upon this *therapeutic* profession are not induced to it by a prevailing custom or the persuasion of others; but being incited wholly by an heavenly love, are under an enthusiastic impulse, resembling the Bacchanals and Corybantes, in the celebration of their festivals, till they arrive at their desired state of contemplation; and then, as if they had bid adieu to this mortal life, and thirsted after immortality and eternal happiness, they leave all their worldly goods and possessions to their sons and daughters, or other relations, and voluntarily put them into possession of their estates. If they have no relations, they resign what they have to their friends and acquaintances; and when they

BOOK II. have thus divested themselves of their worldly substance, being wholly free from the allurements of the present life, they fly from their homes, without ever looking back, leaving their brothers, their children, their wives, their parents, and all their kindred, how numerous soever, and quit the society of their friends and countrymen, among whom they were born and bred; because, should they continue with them, their conversation would be a strong and powerful motive to seduce them from their purpose and resolution.

They never leave one city to go to another, like profligate servants, who, having prevailed with those that own them to be sold to some other person, obtain only by that means the change of their masters, and not the recovery of their liberty. For all cities, even such as are governed by the best laws, are full of disorder and tumult, which these speculative philosophers are not able to bear; and therefore they choose rather to abide without the walls of cities, in gardens, and villages, and solitary rural habitations, admiring retirement, not from an affected hatred to mankind, but to avoid conversing with men of different manners, as a thing pernicious and unprofitable.

This sect of men are dispersed through many parts of the world, (for Greeks and Barbarians should enjoy so excellent a benefit,) but they abound in Egypt and all its provinces, and especially about Alexandria. But from all places the principal of them retire, as into their own country, into a place near the lake Maria, situated upon a gentle rising hill, very commodious for affording them a safe habitation, and also for the wholesomeness of the air. Their

houses are built in a very frugal and mean manner, and are covered only for two necessary reasons, to defend them from the heat of the sun in summer, and from the inclemency of the air in winter; neither are they built contiguous, as in cities; for this would be troublesome and disagreeable to men who affect solitude: nor are their houses at a great distance; for at certain times they love to converse with one another, and by this means they are more ready to unite for their mutual defence, when they should happen to be invaded by thieves.

Each of them has in his cottage a little chapel which they call *semneum* or *monasterium*, in which he performs alone all the mysteries of a holy life, never bringing with them either drink or meat, or any other necessaries for the support of the body; but only the law and the divine oracles of the prophets, and hymns, and conveniences of the same nature, by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected. They have God in perpetual remembrance; so that in their dreams nothing but the beauties and excellencies of divine powers dwell upon their fancies, so that many of them in their sleep and dreams deliver excellent sayings of divine philosophy. Their constant practice is to pray twice every day, in the morning and in the evening. When the sun rises, they pray that God would give his blessing upon the day, that true blessing which fills the mind with heavenly light: at the setting of the sun, they pray that their minds, no way influenced by their senses or sensible things, might by reflection arrive at the knowledge of the truth. The interval of time between morning and evening they spend in the study and contemplation of divine

BOOK II. things; they exercise themselves in the most holy scriptures, and philosophize upon them after their country manner, and expound them allegorically; for they suppose that the words are only notes and marks of some things of mystical nature, which are to be figuratively explained.

They have among them the writings of some ancients, who were principal leaders of their sect, and have left them many monuments of that learning, which consist in dark and secret expressions, by which, as original patterns, they direct their study. They not only spend their time in contemplation, but also in praise of God; they compose songs and hymns of all sorts of metre, and musical verses, which they write in grave and agreeable rhymes.

Six days in the week they continue apart by themselves in the little chapel above mentioned, and there give themselves up wholly to the contemplation of divine philosophy, and they do not step out of doors, or so much as look abroad all that time. Upon the seventh day they meet together in a public solemn assembly, and there they sit according to seniority in a decent manner, with both their hands under their garments, the right laid upon the part between the chin and the breast, and the left let down by their side: then one of the most eminent among them stands up, and discourses with a grave, composed countenance and serious voice; he studies to speak with reason and prudence, but avoids all ostentation of eloquence, as the rhetoricians and sophists now do. His inquiries and expositions are made with that exactness of thought, as not only for the present captivates the ears, but enters into the very soul, and makes lasting impressions upon

it. While this person speaks, all the company attend with silence, and express their approbation only with motions of the eyes and head.

The place of assembly, where they meet every seventh day, has two distinct enclosures and apartments in it, the one assigned for the men, and the other for the women; for it is a custom with them, that the women who are of the same sect and institution should also be auditors in these assemblies. The partition wall which separates these two enclosures is the height of three or four cubits from the ground, after the manner of a parapet; the rest lies open to the top of the room: and this contrivance serves for two conveniencies; the one, to protect that decent modesty which naturally belongs to the female sex; the other, that there might be nothing intervening between them and the speaker, to hinder the voice from coming to them.

Temperance is the foundation upon which they build all other virtues: they neither eat nor drink before the sun is set; for the day they think proper to employ in the study of philosophy, and the night in providing necessaries for the body. The whole day is spent in the first; but a small part of the night serves for the latter. Some of them, who more than ordinarily thirst after knowledge, forget to take sustenance for three days together, and are so delighted and fed with feasting upon wisdom, which richly and plentifully flows in upon them, that sometimes they hold out double the time, and scarce taste of any necessary food for six days together, being supported (as they say a sort of grasshopper are) by the air in which they live; the melody of their hymns, as I suppose, rendering the

BOOK II. want of food easy and supportable to them. They regard the seventh day as all holy and festival, and therefore think it worthy of extraordinary honour. Upon that day, after they have taken proper care of their souls, they refresh their bodies, easing themselves of their daily labour, and allowing their cattle the same indulgence. They use no luxurious diet, but only coarse bread; their sauce is only salt, and they who are of a nicer stomach mingle some hyssop with it: their drink is only water from the river. Thus they appease the two domineering mistresses which nature has placed over all mankind, that is, hunger and thirst, offering nothing to gratify them but what is necessary to support life; for they eat only to assuage hunger, and drink only to extinguish thirst, avoiding a fulness of stomach, as pernicious to soul and body.

And whereas the body requires two sorts of coverings, that is, a house and clothes, it has been observed before, that their houses were mean and built without art, made only to answer the present necessary uses: and as to their clothes, they are contrived purposely to keep out cold and heat, and consist of a coarse thick garment, instead of furs, in the winter, and a short coat without sleeves, or a linen vestment, in summer. They universally exercise themselves in modesty, and looking upon falsity as the mother of arrogance, and truth the mother of modesty, they conceive each of them to be of the nature of a fountain: there flow, say they, from falsity many various sorts of evils, and from truth abundance of good both human and divine.

So far Philo, who is likewise very prolix in describing the behaviour of the Essenes at their great

festivals; but being already so long upon this subject, no more shall be transcribed from this author in this place. CHAP. XXV.

What Pliny relates of this sect is to this purpose: On the western side of the lake Asphaltites dwell the Essenes, seating themselves inwardly from it, to avoid the shore as prejudicial to them. They are the only sort of men, and in this above all the world to be admired, that live without women, without the use of copulation, without money, feeding upon the fruit of the palm-tree. They are daily supplied by the resort of new comers to them in a number equal to those they lose, many flocking to them whom ill fortune has made weary of the world, and forced to take shelter in their institution and manner of life. And thus for several thousands of years (it is incredible to be said) this people is perpetually propagated, without any being born among them; so fruitful and prolific to them is the repentance of others, as to their lives past. Lib. xv. cap. 17.

CHAP. XXVI.

Herodians, Publicans, and Galileans.

THERE was another sect among the Jews called the *Herodians*, so called from Herod the Great, king of Judæa; but for what reason they received their name is not so easy to find. Many of the ancients suppose it was because they held Herod to have been the Messiah. But it is improbable that any Jews should in the time of our Saviour's ministry, above thirty years after the death of Herod, imagine him to have been the Messiah, who, instead

BOOK II.

of fulfilling, directly opposed the predictions which the Messiah was to accomplish. Others speak of the Herodians as if they constituted a sodality in the honour of that prince, in the same manner as such societies were set up in Rome, called *Augustales, Adrianales, Antonini,* in the honour of Augustus, Adrian, and Antoninus, and the like of other Roman emperors after their death. But none of these sodalities being instituted at Rome till long after the death of Herod, none such could have been formed in honour of him, in imitation of them. What is mentioned of these Herodians in the gospels, plainly intimates that they were a sect among the Jews differing from the rest in some points of their law and religion. They had a peculiar leaven, as the Pharisees had; which being called *the leaven of Herod,* argues that he was the author of those doctrines which constituted this sect; and that his followers, who were chiefly his courtiers and officers of his palace, and fell in with him in the tenets he embraced, were therefore called *Herodians.* Now Herod being a stranger, and having by the Roman power usurped the kingdom, and afterwards governed it tyrannically, became generally hateful to his people; so that, besides the assistance of a foreign power, he wanted some to join in his interest who were natives. These were peculiarly active in pressing the people to pay tribute to Cæsar, Herod being obliged by the charter of his sovereignty to be careful of the tribute due to the Romans. And they could not do him a more acceptable service, than by this means endearing him to his great patrons at Rome. This was the political principle of the Herodians, in opposition to the Pharisees and

other Jews, who held it unlawful to submit to the power of the Romans, or to pay taxes to them. In matters of religion they appear to have been Sadducees; for what St. Matthew calls *the leaven of the Sadducees,* St. Mark styles *the leaven of Herod.* They asserted in favour of this prince, that it was lawful, when overpowered by superiors, to comply with them in idolatrous and wrong practices of religion; for Herod, to ingratiate himself with Augustus, acted in many things contrary to the law of the Jews, and urged in his defence, that he was forced to it by the powers above him. Upon this account he was called *a half Jew;* and of such a character were the Herodians his followers: they were a sort of occasional conformists, who professed the Jewish religion, and at the same time, upon occasions, they complied with the idolatry of the heathens. This sect vanished after the time of our Saviour, and was no more heard of.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 12.

This seems to be a proper place to say something of the publicans, who were persons of no particular sect, nor of any religious function, but were certain public officers employed by the Romans to collect their tributes, tolls, and imposts; which office was formerly of great account and reputation among the Romans, and conferred upon none less than the equestrian order; but afterwards falling into the hands of inferior farmers, and the worst of the natives, it became base and infamous. But two things especially concurred to render this office odious to the Jews: first, the persons who managed it were usually covetous, and great exactors; for having themselves farmed the customs of the Romans, they generally used all manner of oppression and extor-

BOOK II. tion to enable them both to pay their rents, and to raise advantage to themselves. And upon this account they became infamous even among the Gentiles themselves, who frequently speak of them as cheats, and thieves, and public robbers, and worse members of a community, more voracious and destructive in a city than wild beasts in a forest. Secondly, these tributes were not only a grievance to the purses of the Jews, but also an affront to the liberty and freedom of their nation; for they looked upon themselves as a freeborn people, and that they had been immediately invested in this privilege by God himself, and accordingly beheld this as a daily and standing instance of their slavery, which of all other things they could least endure. To which we may add, that these publicans were not only obliged by the necessity of their employment to have frequent dealings and converse with the Gentiles, which the Jews held unlawful and abominable; but also being generally Jews themselves, they rigorously exacted these things of their own brethren, and thereby seemed to conspire with the Romans to entail perpetual slavery upon their own nation. Upon all which accounts publicans became so universally abhorred by the Jewish nation, that it was unlawful to do them any office of common goodness or courtesy; nay, they held it no sin to cozen or overreach a publican, and that with the solemnity of an oath. They might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them. They were looked upon as common thieves and robbers, and money received of them might not be put to the rest of a man's estate, it being presumed to have been gained by rapine and violence. Nor were they admitted as persons

fit to give evidence in any cause. They were so infamous, as not only to be banished all communion in the matters of divine worship, but to be avoided in all affairs of civil society and commerce, as the pests of their country, persons of an infectious converse, and of as vile a class as heathens and sinners, with whom they were generally ranked.

The Galileans were a particular faction directly opposite to the Herodians, and were also called by the name of *Gaulonites*. When Quirinius (called Cyrenius by St. Luke, according to the Greek way of writing) was president of Syria, and the country reduced in the form of a Roman province, there was a tax raised and levied, which occasioned great disturbances among the Jews: and in opposition to this tribute a faction was headed by one Judas of Galilee, a turbulent and seditious fellow, under a notion of an universal liberty, and that it was against the law to acknowledge any king but God. But this enthusiast, with his Galilean followers, was soon cut off and suppressed.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

High places, used by the Hebrews for divine worship.

BOOK III. TO dedicate peculiar places for the exercise of religious rites has been common to all nations, and may be traced perhaps to the very infancy of mankind; and therefore, when the divine writ speaks of Cain and Abel, that *they brought their oblations,* the expositions of learned men generally add, *to the place set apart for divine worship.* This probably was the reason why Cain did not immediately fall upon his brother when his offering was refused, because the solemnity and religion of the place, and the sensible appearance of the divine Majesty, struck him with that reverential awe, that he deferred his villainous design till he came into the field, and there slew him. For the offering of their sacrifices, no doubt, they had altars erected, though we read not of them till after the flood, when Noah built an altar to the Lord, and offered burnt offerings upon it. Abraham, when he was called to the worship of the true God, and Isaac and Jacob, erected places for divine worship (that is, altars with their septs and enclosures) wherever they pitched their tents, and that without any special warrant from divine appointment: Jacob in particular (says the learned Mr. Mede) vowed a place for divine worship, by the name of *God's house,* where he would

P. Fag. in Gen. iv.

P. 340. last edition.

pay the tithes of all that God should give him. Lo here a church endowed! CHAP. I. Gen. xxviii. 19.

In the patriarchal times these altars were generally built near some adjacent grove of trees, which, if nature denied, were usually planted by the religious in those ages. When Abraham dwelt at Beersheba, in the plains of Mamre, he planted a grove there, and called upon the name of the everlasting God. This, no doubt, was the common chapel and oratory whither himself and his family were used to retire for public worship, as a place infinitely convenient for such religious purposes. And indeed the ancient devotion of the world much delighted in groves, in woods, and mountains, as well because those high places are naturally fitted for contemplation, as that the silence and the retiredness there raise a sacred kind of dread and horror in the mind of the worshipper. It is certain, that nothing was more ancient in the East than altars with groves of trees about them, which made the place very shady and delightful in those hot countries. They are so often joined in scripture, that it would be tedious to recite particular instances. This custom is supposed to have been brought into Greece by Cadmus out of the East. And they planted the trees so thick, and they were so large and shady, as to make the place very dark and solemn; which affected the devotionists with religious fear and reverence. By this means these groves became the fitter for the exercise of diabolical rites, and for the practice of those obscene and horrid ceremonies that were used in them: for the Gentile custom had made these places proper to the infernal gods, and anciently consecrated them as sepulchres or temples Gen. xxi. 33.

BOOK III. for their heroes. That the Israelites therefore might be preserved from sacrificing to the dead, and from abominable lust and lewdness, they were expressly forbidden to plant a grove near to God's altar, when his worship came to be fixed, nor so much as any tree: for the heathen thought there was a sacredness in trees themselves, which they dedicated to their gods, and honoured with many particular solemnities; and therefore the Jews say, that they were not allowed to plant trees in the court of the temple, or in the mountain of the house, (as they call it,) either for ornament or beauty: and they give this reason, because it was an idolatrous rite to plant trees near their altars, and it might possibly corrupt the minds of the people.

Deut. xvi. 21.

But this custom, though perverted to idolatrous purposes, was innocent, and allowed at first, before God had fixed a place for his public worship; for the most learned Jews are of opinion that it was lawful to offer sacrifices in the groves and high places, till the tabernacle was built. Before the tabernacle was first set up, (says the Talmud,) high places were permitted, and the service was done by the firstborn; but after the tabernacle was erected, high places were prohibited, and the service was performed by the priesthood. And Maimonides asserts, that, during the time wherein the land of Canaan was subdued, it was allowed to sacrifice in the high places, and elsewhere than at the tabernacle; because in that time they were abroad in the wars, and their condition was unsettled. And some imagine that the high places might be lawfully used till the building of the temple: but when that was built, and the ark of God's presence no longer re-

In Zevachin. per. 14.

In Bethhabbech. per. 1.

moved, it was criminal, they say, to sacrifice any longer in groves or high places, or use them any way in religious worship. But this indulgence (if there were any such, which may be justly questioned) must be understood of hills and mountains that were not profaned by the idolatry of the Gentiles; for those the Israelites were obliged to destroy wherever they met with them, and no relic or memorial of them was to be left: their altars and pillars were to be broken in pieces, their groves burnt, and their graven images, the supposed habitation of their demons, to be hewn down, that all opinion of the sanctity of such things might be utterly erased, and the memory of them extinguished. But this precept, though the expression be general, is restrained by some of the Hebrews to the land of Canaan only, and they fancied that in other countries which they conquered, they were not bound to extirpate the false worship of the inhabitants; yet afterwards they found it necessary to extend this injunction to all idolatrous countries, where they destroyed their idols as they had done in Canaan, lest, as Josephus observes, by imitation their polity should have been quite subverted.

As the Israelites were commanded to abolish the pagan religion of the countries they subdued; so they were forbidden to serve God upon mountains, or in groves, or under green trees, after he had set apart a place where he resolved to be worshipped. He often declared, that when they were fixed in the possession of the Holy Land, he would make choice of a place where he would more immediately cause his name to dwell; yet the particular place he left undetermined. And the reason is supposed to be,

BOOK III.

lest every tribe should desire to have it in their lot, and contentions should arise among them about it. This place at first seems to have been Mizpeh, and afterwards Shiloh; and when that was destroyed, the ark removed to several places, till at last it settled at Jerusalem. And when God had once made known where he would particularly take up his residence, thither the people were obliged to bring their sacrifices and oblations, and there to perform divine worship; then the groves and high places were no more to be frequented for sacred purposes: and if by chance they should find a place whose situation appeared exceeding beautiful and solemn, they were not to be captivated with the sight of it, but expressly forbidden to sacrifice or use any religious rites there. So that if the high places were used after their settlement in the land of Canaan, it was a practice directly contrary to the law; but perhaps it might be indulged. If it was, it is certain that this connivance proved in time a great mischief; for on these mountains and hills they first began to worship strange gods, the Israelites being very prone to set up their images in high and shady places, as the eastern people about them did. But though when the ark was settled it became unlawful to offer sacrifices in high places; yet some learned men are of opinion that it was no offence to resort thither for public prayer and praise, and for instruction in the law: and particularly Mr. Thorndike conceives that these high places were the foundation of synagogues and public schools among the Hebrews.

Relig. Assemb. p. 29.

It appears that the places originally used by the Hebrews for divine worship were generally groves

growing upon hills and mountains, where they built altars, and sacrificed to the true God, and performed other acts of solemnity and devotion; but when the tabernacle was erected, there was no great occasion to have recourse to these places for religious purposes. And it is thought, that during the stay of the Israelites in the wilderness all sacrifices were offered at the door of the tabernacle, which was not far from them; though perhaps when they came into Canaan, and were remote from the tabernacle, they might take up with the old custom of worshipping in high places, where they had priests who officiated regularly, and according to the precepts of the law.

CHAP. II.

The tabernacle erected by Moses, its form and dimensions.

BEFORE the great and glorious tabernacle was erected, Moses made a tabernacle, called by the Seventy his *own tent*, and pitched it without the camp. In this public tent he gave audience, heard causes, and inquired of God. Here all great affairs were transacted, and in all probability sacrifices were offered, and all religious offices performed. This was called *the tabernacle of the congregation*, which was the name appropriated to the tabernacle that was afterwards built only for divine service. Here God conversed with Moses, and communicated his mind to him; and the schechinah, as a token of the divine presence, stood before the door of it. Exod. xxxiii. 7.

The shape and dimensions of this tabernacle are no where expressed; nor was it of much import-

BOOK III.

ance, since it was to be of no long duration, and to be supplied by another, whose form and fabric was designed by the divine Artificer himself. God was pleased to descend upon mount Sinai in a cloud, and there he admitted Moses into his presence, and gave him the two tables of stone, and (as it is supposed) the gift of prophecy, with directions for making this magnificent tabernacle, and for performing the divine service belonging to it. For this purpose he shewed him a model (as we now speak) of the house he was to make, and of every thing that was to be used about it: and this scheme or draught was represented so lively and distinctly, and in its just proportion, that it was impossible for him to fail in the copying of it. This sanctuary, or holy place, was not shewn to Moses merely in a picture; much less was the idea of it only impressed upon his mind, but a visible structure was set before him as a pattern for him to imitate. And therefore it is a ridiculous fancy to suppose that Moses projected this tabernacle and its utensils after the fashion of what he had observed in Egypt, and was in use among other nations, to whose religion he proposed to conform, as far as might be safely allowed; and, particularly, as if he built this structure to be carried upon the shoulders of the priests, as the tabernacle of Moloch was. Nothing seems to be more remote from the intention of Moses, or rather from the directions which the great Architect gave him, than this wild conceit. He had a more divine guide than the Egyptians, and raised his fabric by a heavenly pattern, and not by the modes of the idolatrous Gentiles. And the Jews were so possessed of this opinion, that when the temple

came to be built instead of the tabernacle, they say it was done by consulting the oracle, and by the solemn decree of the king, and of the great sanhedrim, and of the prophets.

The plan of this structure being designed by God, the materials were provided by the people. Every one brought his oblation according to his ability: those of the first quality offered gold; those of a middle condition brought silver, and brass, and shittim wood; and the offerings of the meaner sort consisted of yarn and fine linen, goats' hair, and skins. Nor were the women backward in contributing to this work, for they willingly brought in their bracelets, and earrings, and other ornaments; and such of them who were skilful in spinning, made yarn and thread.

The dimensions of this tabernacle are thus stated. It was in length thirty cubits, that is, fifteen yards; for the cubit by which this fabric and the temple are measured was but half a yard, or the common cubit, and not the cubit of the sanctuary, or holy cubit, which was a full yard. Twenty planks of a cubit and a half breadth made one side, or the length of it; and it was ten cubits broad. These planks were certainly of a considerable thickness, perhaps of nine inches each; for it is said, that in the fastening of the sides of the tabernacle, a bar of shittim wood ran through the thickness of the boards as they stood edging one to another. Now this bar was no small one, for it was the principal strength of the side, and therefore must have a large hole bored to run through; and consequently it must be a thick plank that would bear such a hole, and not an inch or two inch board. Let us

BOOK III.

conceive therefore an unequal square, or a plot of ground of thirty cubits, or fifteen yards, long, and of ten cubits, or five yards, broad; such was the compass of the tabernacle between wall and wall. The foundation consisted of massy pieces of silver, towards which every Israelite from twenty years old and upward was obliged to contribute half a shekel. As to other things, they were not bound to any particular sum, but to offer what they pleased. This was an act of homage to God, and an atonement by which they preserved their lives; which made every man, though never so poor, endeavour to raise it, though he sold his clothes to get it: and he that failed to pay this tribute (whether priest or Levite, Israelite or stranger) was separated from the congregation, and not included in the expiation, that is, received no benefit from the expiatory sacrifices. This half shekel was a tax that was continued in after-times for the reparation of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple, and was raised for the support of the daily, weekly, monthly, and annual sacrifices; and for providing salt, and wood, and shewbread, and other necessaries for divine service. The priestly garments also were provided out of this money. And if any thing remained at the end of the year, after all these charges were defrayed, it was spent in extraordinary burnt offerings, which were called *the second sacrifices of the altar*. The number of the Israelites upon this occasion, and above such an age, were six hundred thousand, and three thousand five hundred and fifty men. Now let us consider that the talent of the sanctuary contained one hundred and twenty pounds, the pound twenty-five shekels, or fifty half shekels;

so that every talent contained three thousand shekels, or six thousand halfs: so that six hundred thousand half shekels, given by six hundred thousand men, do amount to a hundred talents. There were three thousand five hundred and fifty men besides, who gave so many half shekels, or a thousand seven hundred seventy-five whole ones, which were laid out upon hooks and chapiters, and fillets about the pillars. The hundred talents were used in this manner: each of them was cast into a solid piece of thirteen inches and a half long, and nine inches square. In the side that laid upward was a mortise-hole near to the end: now two and two were laid close together, end to end, and the mortises were not in the ends that joined, but in the utmost ends. Every plank of which the sides were made was in height five yards, but in breadth three quarters, just as broad as two of these pieces of silver were long. At the foot of the plank, at either corner, was a tenon made, the plank being cut down, or abating so much between the tenons as the tenons themselves were in length; so that when the tenons were shrunk in the mortises, the middle of the plank settled upon the pieces or bases.

These silver bases then were placed thus: forty at the south side, forty at the north side, and sixteen at the west end, laid as close together as was possible; so that though there were so many pieces, yet was it but one entire foundation. Here are fourscore and fifteen of the hundred talents disposed of in the two sides and the west end: what became of the five talents remaining, and of the east end, will be hereafter observed. These bases thus laid, the planks that were overlaid with thin plates of

BOOK III. gold were set in them, one plank taking up two bases, twenty planks making the south side, and twenty the north, and eight the west end. These were five yards long a-piece; and so when they were set up, they made the tabernacle five yards and a little more high upon the walls. Now to make these planks stand firm and sure, the two corner planks were great helps, of which first you remember the length of the sides, namely, fifteen yards, or twenty planks, each of three quarters breadth. The west end had six planks entire, besides a plank at either corner joining end and sides together. These corner planks were of the same breadth that all the other were, and thus set: the middle of the breadth of the one plank was laid close to the end of the south side, or to that plank that was furthest west; so that a quarter of a yard of the breadth of the corner plank was inward. To make up the breadth of the tabernacle, a quarter was taken up with the thickness of the side-plank to which it joined, and a quarter lay outward. Thus at the south-west, and so it was at the north-west corner, the two corner planks were inward a quarter of a yard a-piece, and the six planks that stood between them of three quarters each, which make five yards, the exact breadth of the house between wall and wall. These corners joined end and side together, and were the strength of the building. Besides these corners strengthening the fabric, there were seven bands to make all sure. First, planks to planks were close jointed at the foot. Secondly, each plank was linked to the next at the top with a golden link. Thirdly, on the side staples of gold were fastened in every plank;

so that four bars of shittim wood overlaid with gold were carried in the staples from one end of the tabernacle to the other. Of what length they were, it is not said; but Josephus asserts they were each five cubits. Besides these, there was also another bar of the same wood that ran from end to end through the body or thickness of the planks, a hole being bored through each plank for that purpose. Now the body of the tabernacle, as it was only planked with shittim wood, without any more addition, stood thus: the length from end to end was fifteen yards; the breadth was five yards from side to side. The sides and west end were planked up five yards high, and somewhat more; and the foundation of those planks was massy pieces of silver. The east end was left open; the top, and sides, and west end were covered.

The tabernacle was bounded with curtains, being lightest for carriage, which covered the top and sides. These curtains were tapestry-work; the ground was of fine yarn dyed blue, purple, and scarlet, woven together: the embroidery was of pictures of cherubims. These curtains were in number ten; each being twenty-eight cubits, or fourteen yards, long, and four cubits, or two yards, broad. They sewed together five curtains in one piece, and five in another; so that they made two large pieces of tapestry of fourteen yards long, and ten yards broad. These two pieces were called *couplings*, and were thus joined together: in the edge of either were made fifty loops of blue tape, one answerable to another, or one over against another; and with fifty hooks or clasps of gold the loops were linked together, so that the two main pieces were made

BOOK III.

one covering. Now if it should be asked why the ten curtains were not sewed together into one piece, but five and five, to make two pieces, which yet were joined together by clasps, it must be observed, that the tabernacle consisted of two parts, the holy place, and the most holy; which two were divided one from another by a veil. Now according to this division of the structure was also the division of the curtains; for it is certain that the veil which parted the holy from the most holy was hung exactly under these golden clasps that joined the five and five curtains together; so that five curtains lay over the holy place, and the other five over the most holy: but with this difference, the holy place was ten yards long, and the five curtains sewed together were just so broad, and so they covered only the top and sides, but hung not down at the end, which was eastward; but the most holy was but five yards long, so that the five curtains did not only cover the top, but also hung down at the west end to the silver bases. Now let us measure the curtains again, and imagine them thrown lengthway over the tabernacle. They were fourteen yards long, and twenty yards broad, when they were all sewed and looped together. This breadth covered the length of the building, which was fifteen yards, and it hung down behind the west end, even to the foundation. The east end was still left open. Of the length of them, five yards were taken up in covering the flat top of the fabric, which was five yards broad between wall and wall; a quarter of a yard was taken up on either side with covering the thickness of the planks: so that on either side they hung down four yards and one quarter, which was

three quarters of a yard short of the silver foundation, or little less. CHAP. II.

To remedy this defect, and likewise to preserve the rich curtains from the weather, were made curtains of goats' hair, eleven in number. This required a great deal of skill; for though goats were shorn in those countries, as sheep are here, yet it was very difficult to work it into a thread, and to make stuff of it. Each of these curtains was two yards in breadth, as was the breadth of the other; but being one curtain more than the other, they were two yards broader when they were coupled together. Each curtain was thirty cubits, or fifteen yards long, and consequently a yard longer than those spoken of before. These were sewed six together in one piece, and five in another; and these two main pieces were linked together with fifty clasps of brass, as the other were with fifty of gold. But when these curtains were laid upon the other over the tabernacle, they were not placed so as if these brasen loops lay just upon the golden ones over the veil, but three quarters of a yard more westward: so that the five curtains that went west did reach to the ground, and half a curtain to spare. The other six that lay east reached to the ground, and covered the pillars upon which the veil at the east end hung, and descended half the breadth of a curtain, or a yard over the entrance. Their length of fifteen yards reached half a yard lower on either side than the other curtains did; and yet they came not to the ground by a quarter of a yard: so that the silver foundations were always plain to be seen every where but at the west end.

Thus had the tabernacle two coverings of cur-

BOOK III.

tains, yet for more security there was a third added, to be laid over the other two; and this was made of rams' skins dyed red, or, as some fancy, of red rams' skins, for such there were in the eastern countries that were naturally of that colour. It is not said of what dimensions this covering was, and therefore some have imagined that it covered only the roof; but it is more reasonable to think it was as large as the curtains of goats' hair, which might have been spoiled with rain and dust, if the sides had not been defended with as much care as the roof was. Above this there was yet a fourth covering, for the greater security of the two inmost curtains, which required all this defence, especially on the roof, which was flat, and consequently the rain was more likely to soak into it. This was made (according to our interpretation) of badgers' skins; but the ancient interpreters take the word in the original to signify rather a *colour* than a *badger*, or any other animal; and therefore this covering is supposed to be made likewise of rams' skins dyed of a kind of violet or purple colour.

Whenever this tabernacle was set down, it was always pitched east and west, as our churches stand; but with this difference, that the chiefest place in it, which was the holiest of all, answering to our chancels, stood westward; and the people worshipped with their faces that way, because they would not imitate the heathen, who worshipped toward the sun-rising. The entrance therefore into this tabernacle was at the east end of it, before which there hung a curtain of blue silk, and purple and scarlet, and fine twined linen wrought with needlework. Besides this, Josephus says there was an-

other veil of linen, to defend it from the injury of the weather, which was usually drawn aside upon public festivals, that the people might see the beauty of this first veil. And indeed it is very probable that some curtain or other was, in bad weather at least, hung before it to secure it, as the covering of skins was over the hangings of the tabernacle. This curtain hung by golden hooks upon the outsides of five pillars of shittim wood, which seem to have been disposed in this manner: two of them were placed at each corner, which, if they took up a cubit, then the other three, being placed at an equal distance, made four spaces, each of two cubits, that is, a yard wide, through which the priests entered when they went to minister in the sanctuary. Upon each of these pillars stood a chapiter, which was gilt. The pillars themselves had fillets or hoops of gold about them in several parts of them, and they stood upon bases of brass.

CHAP. III.

The holy place with its furniture described; the table of shewbread; the golden candlestick; the altar of incense.

SUCH was the form on the outside of this tabernacle: within, it was divided into two unequal parts, that were separated from each other by a veil; the one was called *the holy place*, which was next the entrance, and was ten yards in length; the other was called *the most holy place*, and was in length five yards. The furniture of the holy place was the shewbread table, the golden candlestick, and the gilded altar, or the altar of incense.

BOOK III. Upon the right hand of the priest, as he walked up the holy place, was the table of shewbread, or bread of the presence, (for it was set before the ark in the presence of God,) of this form and matter, and for this end. A table-frame was made two cubits long, and a cubit broad, and a cubit and a half high; the matter of it was shittim wood. This was a tree which grew in the desart of Arabia only, out of which boards might be cut of a great breadth, exceeding strong, and of incredible firmness, smoothness, and beauty. It was overlaid with pure gold, the lower parts as well as the upper, and the feet also were plated with gold. Equal with the top of the frame was a border of gold, curiously wrought, of a handbreadth, the higher edge equal with the top of the frame, and the border so broad below. Upon the higher edge of this border was set a golden crown, which went quite about the frame, and within the crown was the cover laid. At each corner, or foot, was fastened a staple or ring of gold, close by the lower edge of the golden border. As the feet, so these rings were four, wherein were put staves of shittim wood gilt with gold, to bear the table.

Upon this table were twelve loaves, or cakes, called *the shewbread*, or *the bread of the presence*; because it was set before the ark of the covenant where God was present. These loaves were prepared by the Levites, and were twelve in number, to represent the twelve tribes of Israel as continually under the care of divine Providence. Nor was this number diminished after the apostasy of ten tribes from the worship of God at the tabernacle; but still twelve cakes were set before the Lord, be-

2 Chron. xiii. 11.

cause there was a remnant of true Israelites among them. And this was a constant testimony against these apostates, and served as an evidence that they ought to return to the proper place for divine worship, where alone they were assured their sacrifices would be accepted. Each cake had in it two homers of fine flour, which measure is thought to be significative; for so much manna did every Israelite gather against the sabbath in the wilderness. These loaves were placed in two rows one upon another, as the Hebrew writers expound it; who say also that they were placed lengthwise cross over the breadth of the table. Under the lowest cake was a golden dish wherein that cake lay; and between every cake was a golden dish. Upon the top of each row lay a golden dish whelmed down, and upon that stood a dish of gold with frankincense in it. There were likewise spoons and covers and bowls belonging to this table, all of gold; but it is not so easy to determine their several uses: yet it is commonly thought that the spoons were designed to fill the dishes with frankincense, and to take it out; the covers were set over the loaves and the frankincense; and the bowls served as proper furniture for a table: but here being no drink they were not used. The shewbread was prepared the evening before; and then on the sabbath the old loaves and frankincense, that had stood all the week before, were fetched away, and new put in their room: the frankincense was burnt as an oblation, and the bread was given to the priests, who, as God's servants, had a right to eat of the bread which came from his table, and which they were obliged to eat in the holy place, and nowhere else.

BOOK III. Over against this table on the south side, or on the left hand, stood the golden candlestick, of one massy piece. This was another necessary piece of furniture for a house, especially when there were no windows in it: the main body or trunk of it was of solid gold, which went up straight, and ended in the middle light: near the foot was a golden dish wrought almondwise; and a little above that a golden knop; and above that a golden flower. There is no mention in scripture of the foot of this candlestick; but without question it was proportionable to the rest: nor is there any thing said of the length of the shaft, or trunk; but it is supposed it was near double the height of the table, and of the altar of incense, which made it look majestically, and yet did not raise it so much as to endanger the roof of the tabernacle. Out of the trunk there issued two branches, on either side one, which were carried from the body with such an equal bending so as to be brought straight, and raised as high as the middle shaft out of which they proceeded. Upon each of these branches were wrought three golden cups in the figure of an almond, into which perhaps the snuff was to fall; and between every one of them was there a knop and a flower; and upon the top there was a socket, in which the light was to be set. This was the manner of the two lowest branches. Above these, in the middle shaft, was a golden boss, and then out came two branches more, in form resembling the other. Above these in the shaft was another knop, or boss, and out came two other branches like the former; from thence the shaft upward was adorned with three golden scollop cups, or dishes, a knop, or boss, and a flower: and thus

the head of all the branches stood in an equal height and distance. CHAP. III.

Upon the top of these six branches and the shaft was a lamp fixed; but the form is not prescribed. These lamps were fed with pure oil olive, not squeezed out by a press or by a mill, (for such was full of sediment and dregs,) but which ran freely from the olives being bruised with a pestle; and they were to be supplied with a sufficient quantity to keep them always burning. Some indeed imagine that these lamps did not perpetually burn, but being lighted every evening went out in the morning; and there are places in scripture which seem to favour this opinion, particularly in the first book of Samuel, where mention is made of the lamps going out in the morning. And in the second book of Chronicles we read of setting the lamps to burn every evening; which seems to signify that they did not burn in the day. But Josephus, who was a priest, and could not be ignorant in this matter, says expressly that they burnt day and night: and indeed it seems necessary that they should; for otherwise the priests must have ministered in the dark at the altar of incense, before the majesty of God, who kept a table in the sanctuary which required light; for nobody loves to feast in darkness. And therefore, says a learned rabbi, God commanded that a lamp should always burn in the sanctuary for the honour and majesty of it, there being no light conveyed to it any other way. But yet it appears highly probable that there were not so many of the lamps burning in the day as in the night, when all the seven lamps were lighted, some of which were put out in the morning, and lighted again in the

1 Sam. iii. 3.

2 Chron. xiii. 11.

Levi Barcelo, Præc. 98.

BOOK III.

evening; for so Josephus says expressly, three burnt all day before the Lord, and the rest were lighted in the evening. The care of these lamps was committed to the priests: at the rising of the sun they went into the holy place to look after those which they had lighted the evening before. The dressing of them, as the Hebrews describe it, consisted in cleansing the snuff-dishes, and snuffing those lamps they found burning, and supplying them with new oil, and in putting new cotton (as we now speak) and oil into those that were gone out, and lighting them at some of the lamps which still continued burning. This candlestick had tongs or snuff-dishes belonging to it, all of pure gold. The tongs are supposed to bear no resemblance to our snuffers, though their use was the same; but were probably like little tongs, or scissors, with which the lamps were clipt to make them shine the brighter. The snuffers, and the snuffings of the lamps, were put into the snuff-dishes; and for the latter use it is thought they had water put in them, that they might extinguish the better, and prevent a stink.

Between the candlestick and the table stood the altar of incense; it was made of shittim wood, and overlaid with gold: it was a cubit long, as much broad, and two cubits high, that the priest might minister there without stooping. At each corner it had a horn, or spire, rising out of the same piece with the corner post; the top, and the frame on all sides, were covered with plates of gold. Upon the edge of the frame upward was fixed a crown, or border, of massy gold, at the foot of which were struck two golden rings, or staples, in which were put two staves of shittim wood overlaid with gold,

to bear this altar withal. This altar was placed near the veil, just in the midst of the breadth of the room, (before the middle of the ark which was within the veil,) distant from either wall two yards and a quarter. On the north side of it stood the table, which being set lengthway to the wall, took up half a yard of the breadth of the house; so between it and the altar was a passage, a yard and quarter broad. The candlestick was of the same breadth, with his branches spread, that the table was of length, and so was set over against it, shewing five inches between every socket, wanting one inch at the whole. This being set as far from the wall as the utmost edge of the table, that stood on the other side of the house, afforded the same space between the altar and it that the table did. There was no grate upon this altar, as some have imagined; but a golden pan, or dish, was set upon the top of it, which had coals in it when incense was to be burnt, and taken away with the coals when that was done. Nor are we to suppose that this altar stood in the most holy place, as St. Austin and some others have conceived.

The use of this altar was for the burning of incense, which Aaron himself did at first; but afterwards his sons in their courses performed this service. This was done every morning when the lamps were dressed, and every evening when they were lighted; and therefore it was called *a perpetual incense;* because it was never intermitted twice a day: and one reason why it was thus continually burnt was, because of the vast number of beasts that were slain and cut to pieces, and washed and burnt every day at the sanctuary, which would have made it

BOOK III.

smell like a shambles, if this sweet odour had not perfumed it and the garments of the priests who there ministered. The odour of this incense, the rabbies say, might be smelt as far as Jericho; and by this means the reverence due to the house of God was preserved; which would have been contemptible, if any ill smell had been constantly about it. No incense was to be burnt upon this altar but what was prescribed by God himself. No burnt sacrifice, nor meat offering, nor drink offering, was to come upon it; only once a year, upon the great day of expiation, the high priest was to go with the blood of the sin offering into the most holy place, and sprinkle it before the mercy-seat; and then come out into the sanctuary, and there put the blood upon the horns of this altar, and sprinkle it upon it also with his finger seven times.

Levit. xvi. 18, 19.

The ingredients ordered for the making of this sacred perfume are called by our translators *stacte, onycha, galbanum,* and *pure frankincense;* and there was to be a like weight of each. Stacte is supposed to be the liquid part of myrrh, not which flows of itself, but which drops from it when it is pressed out by art, and is the most unctuous part of it. Onycha is taken for the shell of a fish in the fens of India, that are full of spikenard, upon which this fish feeding, it makes the very shell odoriferous. Galbanum is different from what is sold in our shops, which is of an offensive smell; but there was another kind in Syria, in the mount Amanus, which had an excellent scent. Pure frankincense is what was gathered in autumn, which was much the finest, and of the whitest colour. These ingredients were pounded severally, and being mingled with great

Exod. xxx. 34.

care, were made ready for the divine service, and a quantity of it was burnt every day upon the altar of incense that was placed before the ark. It was entirely separated to divine worship, and not to be applied to any private use, nor to be touched by any but the priests, and that when they ministered in the sanctuary before the mercy-seat. If any man presumed to make this composition with the same spices, and the same weight, with a design to burn it as a perfume, he was to be cut off; and it is not improbable but this excision extended not only to the transgressor, but to his whole race, that none of them should remain to keep up his name among his people.

Thus was the furniture of this place called *the holy*. The priests who ministered went in at the east end, and directly before them stood the veil and the golden altar; upon the right hand, nigh the veil, were placed twelve loaves upon a golden table; on the left were seven lamps burning in seven golden candlesticks made of one piece, by which lay the golden snuffers and dishes for cleansing the lamps morning and night. Upon the walls on either side was nothing to be seen but gold. On the top were pictures of cherubims curiously wrought in rich curtains. At the east end hung a veil of needlework, upon five pillars of shittim wood, overlaid with gold; each pillar was fastened in a base of brass, and at the top had a golden hook, on which the covering hung.

CHAP. IV.

The most holy place; the ark of the covenant.

BOOK III. IT was before observed that the tabernacle was divided: ten yards towards the east was called *the holy place*, and the five towards the west was called *the most holy;* and this division was made by a veil. This veil of partition seems to have been of the same work with the rest of the inward hangings of the tabernacle, and was of that thickness that none could look through it into the holy of holies. It was supported by four pillars of shittim wood plated with gold, and hung by golden hooks fixed in the top of the pillars, exactly under the clasps that joined the two inward curtains above mentioned. Within this veil was the holy of holies, which was a perfect square, five yards long, five yards high, and five yards broad.

In the inmost and most secret part of this place, at the west end, stood the ark, called *the ark of God* and *the ark of the Lord;* because upon it God was pleased more especially to reside. It was likewise styled *the ark of the testimony*, and *the ark of the covenant;* because the tables of stone, called *the tables of the testimony*, which were witnesses of the covenant between God and the Israelites, were placed in it. This ark was made, like a little chest, or coffer, hollow, three foot nine inches in length, two foot three inches in breadth, and two foot three inches in height, of shittim wood; and, for the conveniency of carriage, laid over on the inside and the outside with very thin plates of gold. It had no feet, but the bottom stood upon the ground; though the Jewish doctors say it was set upon a stone ris-

ing three fingers' breadth above the floor, which was as a pedestal for it. A border, or list of gold, went round at the top of it, which was called *a crown*, because it compassed every part of it, but was of another figure, not round, but square, as the ark was. It was of great use as well as ornament; for into this, as into a socket, was the covering, which was the mercy-seat, fixed: and it might the more properly be called a crown, because it was of some height, for the surer supporting of the propitiatory. While the ark was ambulatory with the tabernacle, it was carried by staves upon the shoulders of the Levites. These staves, the Hebrews say, were ten cubits long, at least of such a length as to keep a decent distance between the ark and those who bore it: they were overlaid with gold, and put through golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the ark, as has been hitherto supposed, but on the two ends of it. And this appears evidently, because that when it was carried into the temple of Solomon, and there fixed in the most holy place prepared for it, the scripture says, that the staves being drawn out reached downward towards the holy place, which was without the most holy place, or holy of holies: for had they been upon the sides of the ark lengthway, they would, when they were drawn out, have reached towards the side-wall, and not downward; unless we suppose that the ark was placed sideway, with one of its ends downward, and the other upward, which was never asserted. And as another argument, let it be considered, that the high priest, when he appeared before the ark upon the great day of expiation, is generally allowed by the rabbins to have gone up to it between the staves. But

1 Kings viii. 8.

BOOK III. if these staves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two foot three inches between them; which would not have been room sufficient for the high priest, in his pontifical robes, to have passed between them towards the ark for the performance of his duty. Nor could the bearers, in so near a position of the staves, carry it with any convenience upon their shoulders, but must necessarily have incommoded one another, before and behind, by being so near together. These staves being once put into the rings, were never to be taken out, that there might be no danger of letting them fall, (which would have been a great irreverence,) and that every thing might be ready for the Levites when they were to remove the ark upon short notice, who were by this means kept from touching it, or coming nearer to it than the ends of the staves.

When order was given for the making of this ark, the direction was, that before it was covered, the testimony (that is, the two tables of stone containing the Ten Commandments) should be put into it; for it had no door, and therefore the testimony was put in at the top: and the rabbins assert, that the tables broken by Moses were preserved there as well as the whole. These tables (two foot in length, say the Jews, so much in breadth, and a foot thick) are supposed to have been prepared ready for Moses when he came to the mount: they were made and planned by God himself, and the letters were written with his own fingers; so that no creature was any way employed in this work. Some are of opinion, that the writing was on the fore part and the back part of them, that so the Ten Commandments might

be read by those who stood either before or behind, when they were set up, being written (according to this conceit) twice over. But they were not designed to be set up, they were to be reposited in the ark; and therefore they were written on both the leaves, (as I may call them,) which were folded and shut like a book when they were laid in; but how many commandments were written on one side, and how many on the other, is variously disputed, but cannot certainly be determined.

It is expressly said that *there was nothing in the ark but the two tables of stone;* and therefore when it is said that Moses wrote the whole book of his laws, and commanded the priests to put it in the side of the ark, it is to be understood of the outside, where it was placed in a case or coffer made of purpose, and laid by the side of the ark, which was on the right hand; for in the text the very same phrase is made use of, where it is said, that the Philistines put the jewels of gold, which they returned for a sin offering, in a coffer by the side of the ark: and therefore those priests who received the book of the law from Moses, delivered it to Eleazar to be there placed. Besides, the ark was not of capacity sufficient to contain the whole volume of the Mosaical laws, together with the tables of stone that were preserved in it. And further let it be considered, that the design of laying up this code of laws was, that it might be reserved as an authentic copy, and a public record, by which all others were to be corrected and set right; and therefore to answer this end, it must have been placed so, that access might be had to it upon proper occasions; which had been impossible if it had

1 Kings viii. 9.

Deut. xxxi. 26.

1 Sam. vi. 18.

BOOK III. been placed within the ark, and shut up there by the cover of the mercy-seat over it, which was not to be removed. And (which is the last reason) when Hilkiah the priest found a copy of the law, in the time of king Josiah, there is no mention made of the ark, nor is it said that it was taken from thence; but it was casually found rather upon the roof of the house, or among the rafters, where the priests had hid it, as some of the Jews think, when Manasseh endeavoured to destroy this authentic copy of the law, as he had done all others that he could find; and when they came to uncover the house, there it appeared. For these reasons put together it seems plain that the volume of the law was not laid within the ark, but had a particular coffer or repository of its own, in which it was placed upon the side of it. And therefore the Chaldee Paraphrase, which goes under the name of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, in commenting upon the words of Deuteronomy, *Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant*, renders it thus: *Take the book of the law, and place it in a case or coffer on the right side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God.*

2 Kings xxii. 8.

Deut. xxxi. 26.

If nothing was placed in the ark but the tables of stone, it is certain that Aaron's rod and the pot of manna, which are said to be laid up *before the testimony*, must be preserved in some other place. It is generally agreed, that by *the testimony* are meant the two tables of stone; and therefore those who understand the words, *before the testimony*, in the strictest sense, contend that the rod and the pot of manna were laid up immediately before the tables within the ark; otherwise, say they, they would not

Numb. xvii. 10.

Exod. xvi. 33.

have been laid up before the testimony, but before the ark. But others, who do not understand the words in so strict a sense, conceive they were laid up in the holy of holies without the ark, in a place just before it; thinking, that in this position without the ark, they may be as properly said to be laid up before the testimony or tables of the law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the ark itself.

The testimony being put into the ark, it was then covered. The covering was made of pure gold, beaten or founded to the just length and breadth of the ark, that when it was laid on, it touched the golden crown round about. This cover is called by the Old and New Testament *the mercy-seat*, or properly *the propitiatory;* because here God shewed himself propitious, and appeased by the blood of the sacrifices that were sprinkled before this place. At either end was made a cherub all of gold, beaten out of the same piece that the cover of the ark was of. Of what shape these cherubs were is hard to determine; but perhaps they were either of the same form that the angelical ministers appeared in, who attended upon the divine Majesty in the mount; or they were not the figures of angels, but rather emblems whereby the angelical nature was in some manner expressed; and were therefore ordered to be made, as Maimonides conjectures, that the Jews might be confirmed in the belief of the existence of angels, which is the second article of their faith, next to the belief of God. And he commanded (says the same rabbi) two to be made; because if there had been but one, it might have led them into a dangerous error, that it was the figure of God, whereby

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 45.

BOOK III. they might have been inclined to worship it; but there being two of them ordered, with this declaration, *The Lord our God is one God*, it led them into right thoughts, that God had many of these angelical ministers attending upon him. It is certain that they were made like flying creatures; for they had wings, but bore no resemblance to any fowl that we know of: "they were flying animals," says Josephus, "like to none of those which are "seen by men, but such as Moses saw figured in "the throne of God," when he beheld, he means, his Majesty in the mount, attended by the heavenly host: and in another place he asserts, "As for the "cherubims, nobody can tell or conceive what they "were like." Some indeed have supposed, from what Ezekiel says of them, that they had the face of oxen; for that face, which is called by the prophet in one place *the face of an ox*, is afterward called *the face of a cherub*. But it is to be considered, that there is no proof that the cherubims of Moses had the same face with those mentioned by Ezekiel, but were rather a quite different representation; for in the tabernacle God was represented as *dwelling*, *sitting*, and *abiding* among the Israelites; but in the prophet as *removing*, and departing quite away from his dwelling-place; and consequently I conceive his ministers and attendants appeared then in different shapes from what they did in the present case. The faces of these cherubs looked one to another, to signify, say the Jews, their mutual consent and concord; and both toward the cover of the ark, to shew, say they, that they were keepers of the law, that was laid under the mercy-seat. Their wings were stretched on high,

Antiq. lib. iii. c. 8.

Lib. viii. c. 2.

Ezekiel x. 14.

as being upon the wing (to use our language) ready to fly to execute the divine commands: their wings did not lie close to their bodies, but were raised up, and reached over the ark; so that meeting together, they made as it were a seat over the ark, called *the throne of God.*

Here it was where *the glory of the Lord* resided: here the shechinah, or the speciality of the divine presence, rested, both in the tabernacle and the temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it. God sat here between the cherubims, whose wings were the seat of the divine Majesty, as the cover of the ark before mentioned was his footstool: from hence the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people; and therefore the tabernacle is often called *the tabernacle of meeting*, not because this was the place where the people met together for divine worship, as is commonly supposed, when we translate it *the tabernacle of the congregation;* but because there God met with men, and revealed his will to them. For this reason the high priest appeared before this mercy-seat once every year, upon the great day of expiation, when he was to make the nearest approach to the divine presence, to mediate and make atonement for the whole seed of Israel; and all else of that nation, that served God according to the Levitical law, made this place the centre of their worship; and not only in the temple, when they came up thither to worship; but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world, the Jews, whenever they prayed, turned their faces toward the place where the ark stood, and directed all their de-

Ps. lxxx. 1. and xcix. 8.

Exod. xxix. 42. xxx. 36. Numb. xvii. 4.

BOOK III. votions that way; and therefore the author of the book Cozri justly says, that the ark, with the mercy-seat and the cherubims, were the foundation, the root, the heart and marrow of the whole temple, and of all the Levitical worship performed in it. This schechinah, or the divine presence, manifested by a visible cloud, appeared first when the tabernacle was consecrated by Moses, and was afterwards, upon the consecration of the temple of Solomon, translated thither, and there it continued in the same visible manner till that temple was destroyed; but after that, it never appeared more. Its constant place was directly over the mercy-seat; but it rested there only when the ark was in its proper place, in the tabernacle first, and afterwards in the temple, and not while it was in a state of motion from place to place, as it often was before the first temple was built.

Pars ii. sect. 8.

What became of this ark upon the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, is variously disputed by the Jewish writers. Had it been carried to Babylon with the other vessels of the temple, it would possibly have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity: but that it was not so is universally agreed; and therefore it must follow that it was destroyed with the temple, as were also the altar of incense, the shewbread table, and the golden candlestick; for all these in the second temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the Jews contend, that it was hid and preserved by Jeremiah, say some, out of the second book of Maccabees: but most of them will have it, that king Josiah, being foretold by Huldah the prophetess that the temple would be destroyed soon

Chap. ii. ver. 3.

after his death, caused the ark to be put into a vault under ground, which Solomon, foreseeing this destruction, had ordered to be built on purpose for the preserving of it. And to prove this, they produce the text, where Josiah commands the Levites to put the holy ark in the house which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build, which they interpret of his putting the ark into the vault above mentioned, where they say it has lain ever since to this day; but it shall be discovered, and brought out again in the days of the Messiah. But they strangely pervert the words, which import no more, than that Manasseh, or Ammon, having removed the ark from the place where it ought to have stood, Josiah commanded that it should be restored to its proper place. Other dotages of the rabbins concerning this ark I forbear troubling the reader with.

2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

CHAP. V.

The court of the tabernacle; the altar of burnt offering; the laver of brass.

SUCH was the form and the furniture and the covering of this sacred tent, which was still enclosed with a sort of courtyard made with pillars and hangings, in which this tabernacle was placed. Upon the south side of the fabric, twenty cubits distant from the house, were set a row of pillars of shittim wood twenty in number: each pillar was set in a base of brass, distant from each other five cubits, counting from the middle of one pillar to another; so that the twenty made a length of an hundred cubits. In each pillar was struck a hook

BOOK III.

of silver, and each pillar had a border of silver wrought about it: thus were they on the south side, just so were they on the north. At the west end, thirty-five cubits from the house, were set ten pillars in the same manner and distance, making the breadth of the court fifty cubits at either end; for just in the middle the house took up ten cubits' breadth. Just so were the pillars set at the east end, at the same distance from the house, and from one another. On the sides, upon the hooks of the pillars, were hangings fastened, made of linen well twisted, of an hundred cubits in length, and five in height. At the west end were the like, just half so long, and just so high. At the east end there was some difference; for that had three pieces to make it up. On either side of the entrance was a piece hung of fifteen cubits long, and of the same height. Just in the middle was a piece of twenty cubits long of the same height with the other hangings, but of more rich stuff; for whereas the other were made only of linen, this was of the same stuff that the rich curtains were, curiously wrought with the needle. To fasten these hangings, that they might not fly up in the lower end, there were cords fastened to them, and these cords tied to brasen pins, which pins were fastened in the ground, and so made all sure. Thus were also the curtains that covered the tabernacle served, with pins of the same metal, with cords fastened to them after the same manner, to prevent the same inconvenience.

In this court stood the altar of burnt sacrifice up toward the tabernacle, that the people might stand and see the sacrifice offered with their faces toward the holy place. This altar was made of shittim wood,

five cubits, or two yards and a half, long, and as much broad, and one yard and a half high. The frame was strong, like the frame of a table of these dimensions. The open places in the frame were made up with boards. All this bulk was overlaid with brass. At each corner was there a horn or spire wrought out of the same piece of wood with the corners of the altar. These spires were either for ornament, or were useful to tie the sacrifices to the altar; and therefore some imagine that they were of the fashion of oxen or rams' horns; though if they were straight, they were more convenient for putting the blood of the sacrifices round about them. Thus the altar stood hollow, and within the hollow, just in the middle between bottom and top, hung a brasen grate, made in the manner of a net, that the ashes might fall through to the bottom of the altar, where there was a door on the east side to open and take them out. This grate seems to have been made like a furnace, full of holes round about, as well as below. At each corner of this grate was a brasen ring, which (as some imagine) at each corner came through the frame of the altar, and hung out on the sides of it; so that the frame and the grate were carried together. But beside other objections against this opinion, from the different form of the grate and the altar, it may be doubted whether they were carried together, and not separate from one another; especially if we conceive the grate to have been carried with the fire still burning on it, which would have immediately consumed the purple cloth which was to cover the altar when they removed it. But the firepans hereafter mentioned, it is probable, received the fire out of

Ps. cxviii. 27.

Levit. xvi. 18.

Numb. iv. 13.

BOOK III. the grate; and then it being cleansed from the ashes, was carried together with the altar, to the horns of which it hung by chains in the rings before mentioned, a purple cloth being spread over both. It follows then, that besides the rings for the grate, there were others in the corners of the altar itself, into which were put two staves of shittim wood, of such a length that they might be laid upon the shoulders of the priests; and the altar, when they carried it, hung between them.

To this altar belonged divers necessary utensils made of brass. There were pans to carry out the ashes which fell from the altar upon the earth into a clean place, as the law directs. The ashes were scraped together on a heap with shovels, and then thrown into these pans. There were brasen basons, whose use principally was to receive the blood of the sacrifices which was to be sprinkled; but it is supposed likewise that they served for the mixture of the oil with fine flour and frankincense, which were to be burnt on the altar. For when any man offered a meat offering, the priest was to take a handful of the flour and of the oil, with all the frankincense, as God's part, to be consumed on the altar; and therefore we must suppose some vessel wherein these were brought to the priest, as the law requires. Fleshhooks were provided, or *forks*, as the word may be translated, which are conceived to be in the form of a trident. With these they stirred up the fire, and also ordered the pieces of the sacrifices, if any chanced to lie out of it, and put them into it, so that every part might be surely consumed. Firepans were another appurtenance belonging to this altar. These are commonly taken

Levit. iv. 12.

Exodus xxvii. 8.

for dishes or censers, in which the priest carried burning coals from this altar into the sanctuary, to offer incense upon the golden altar. But others imagine that they did not minister in the holy place with brasen censers; and therefore these firepans, they think, were a larger sort of vessel, wherein the sacred fire that came down from heaven was kept burning, whilst they cleansed the altar and the grate from the coals and ashes, and when this altar was to be carried from one place to another, as in the wilderness it often was.

In this court also stood a vessel of brass upon a foot of brass, in which vessel water was kept for the priests to wash their hands and their feet. There is no mention of the form or dimensions of this laver; but we may probably think, that though Solomon made a sea of brass much bigger than this vessel, (which was carried about in their travels in the wilderness,) yet he made it of the same form, and that was circular. There were certain spouts in this vessel through which the water ran, and the basis was so contrived as to receive it below. The water (at least while the tabernacle was in the wilderness) was brought thither every day in other vessels, and poured into it. At those spouts the priests washed their hands and their feet before they entered upon their ministration; for if they had put their hands and their feet into the laver, the water would have been defiled by the first man who washed in it: and it is supposed, by reason of its height, they could not with any convenience put their feet into it. That the priests might wash with less difficulty, the Talmudists tell us, there were twelve spouts or cocks in the form of a woman's

2 Chron. iv. 2, 3.

BOOK III.

breast (whence they call them *paps* or *dugs*) to let the water out of the laver; so that twelve priests who attended upon the daily sacrifice might wash there all together. There was no occasion to wash any more than their hands and their feet, being washed once all over before they were consecrated; but this they were to do upon pain of death, as long as the tabernacle or the temple was in being. This washing was not to be repeated before every act of their ministration; but it was sufficient for the service of that day, if they washed once before their entrance upon it: only upon the great day of expiation, before five of the various duties then to be performed, the washing was to be renewed. The omission of this ceremony was punished with death by the hand of Heaven, whether the priests were to minister at the altar of incense in the tabernacle, or to offer sacrifices at the brasen altar in the outward court. This vessel, according to the Talmudists, stood at the entrance of the tabernacle, but a little on the south side, and not just before the altar; so that the priests coming into the court, went immediately to the laver, and there washed, and then ascended to the altar. It was made of the finest brass, freely offered by the religious women among the Israelites, who in those times made use of polished brass to behold the beauty of their faces, instead of looking-glasses. These they brought voluntarily to Moses, who made of them this laver for the service of the priests. Out of this was the water taken when a suspected woman was to be tried; and the water was likewise used to wash some part of the sacrifices.

CHAP. VI.

The consecration of the tabernacle, and all its vessels and utensils. The descent of the holy fire upon the altar of burnt offerings.

SUCH was the tabernacle, its utensils, and the outward court that surrounded it; but there was no peculiar sanctity in this tent, and its appurtenances, before it was set apart by a solemn rite of consecration. For this purpose there was an ointment made, which has been already described in speaking of the high priest. Let it be observed only in this place, that no person was to be anointed with this oil except such as were appointed by God: nor was any ointment to be made of the same ingredients for private or common use, under the penalty of being cut off. It was made for the anointing and consecrating the king, the high priest, and all the sacred vessels made use of in the house of God; and for this use it was commanded to be kept by the Israelites throughout their generations; and therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most holy place. And as the original copy of the law was placed there on the right side of the ark of the covenant; so perhaps the vessel containing this oil was placed on the other side of it, and there kept, till the first temple being destroyed, that also was destroyed with it. The vessels and utensils that were anointed were the ark of the covenant, the altar of incense, the shewbread table, the golden candlestick, the altar of burnt offering, the laver, and all other vessels and utensils belonging to them. This it is supposed was done, not by pouring or sprinkling, but by dipping his finger in the oil, and

BOOK III. putting it upon them. And as by this anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the tabernacle, so if any of them were afterwards decayed, destroyed, or lost, they could, during the first temple, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again restored by making and consecrating new ones in their place of the same virtue and holiness: but this oil being wanting in the second temple, it caused a want of sanctity in all things else belonging to it. For though upon the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and the rebuilding of their temple, they made anew an ark, an altar of incense, a shewbread table, a golden candlestick, an altar of burnt offering, and a laver, with the other vessels and utensils belonging to them, and fixed them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uses; yet, through want of the holy anointing oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that holiness under the second temple which they had under the first. How they came to fancy it unlawful to make a composition of this kind does not appear. It is certain that the making of it was repeated before the first temple was destroyed; for so many things were to be anointed with it about the tabernacle, and especially in future times, (all the high priests being anointed not with a drop or two, but with such a plentiful effusion of it, that it ran down their beards and the skirts of their garments; the priests also who went in their stead to the wars, and their kings likewise, when there was any doubt of their title,) that this oil could not last so long, much less retain its scent for so many generations, without a miracle, for which there was no occasion. For though there was near half a hundred weight

of the spices, yet there was but five or six quarts of oil; and therefore the ointment could not be much more, the odours of these spices being only extracted by infusion, and the substance left behind. And such a quantity as this may well be supposed to be near spent in anointing so many things and persons; and therefore it was upon occasion to be made again, as the perfume for incense certainly was.

By this unction were the vessels and utensils of the tabernacle set apart for holy uses; but the altar of burnt offering was sanctified by a peculiar rite, that was not used to any other part of the furniture: for, besides its being anointed in common with the rest, it was sprinkled seven times with the oil, in order to derive a greater sanctity upon it; and it received an additional holiness by an expiatory sacrifice, by which it became a most sacred place. It was impossible that any sacrifices that were offered upon the altar should be accepted by God, unless the altar itself was expiated and made holy. This expiation was performed by Moses, by sacrificing a bullock, and putting some of the blood upon the horns of it with his finger: not that the altar, properly speaking, was capable of any guilt; but yet it required to be purified from that defilement it must be supposed to have contracted by the hands of the workmen that made it; for all vessels in the sense of the law were looked upon as made unclean by the touch of any unclean person. Nothing was acceptable to God, unless it was offered upon this altar; and when it was completely consecrated, it sanctified every thing that was laid upon it.

This expiatory rite was continued for seven days, till the end of which no sacrifice whatsoever was

BOOK III.

offered upon this altar; (because it was not perfectly sanctified, to make them holy and acceptable;) but upon the eighth day fire came down either out of the sanctuary from the holy of holies, or from that glory which then appeared to the Israelites, and consumed the sacrifice, which was a burnt offering, and is supposed to be the evening sacrifice, which concluding the work of the day, God gave a special token of his acceptance of all the other sacrifices by consuming this. From this time the priests were bound to take care that this fire never went out, that so their sacrifices might be constantly offered by celestial fire; because it was a continuation of that fire which came from heaven by a continual addition of fuel, whereby it was preserved. And so great care was taken about this fire, that no wood was to be used upon this altar but what was reputed clean; and for this reason it was all barked and examined before it was laid on. And they were so nice, that it was never blown by bellows, or by human breath, in order to kindle it. This celestial fire was so famous, that it was imitated among the Gentiles, who thought it ominous to have their sacred fire go out, and therefore appointed persons on purpose to watch it and keep it perpetually burning; as appears by the vestal virgins at Rome, whose great business it was to look after the *eternal fire*, as they called it; imagining the extinction of it portended no less than the destruction of the city. The Greeks also preserved an inextinguishable fire; and so did the Persians, and many other nations. This fire descended anew upon the altar in the temple of Solomon, at the consecration of that sacred place; and there it was constantly fed and main-

tained by the priests day and night, without suffering it ever to go out, in the same manner as it had been before in the tabernacle. And with this all the offerings were offered that were made by fire; and for using other fire were Nadab and Abihu consumed by fire from the Lord. This, say some of the Jewish writers, was extinguished in the days of Manasseh: but the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans. After that, it was never more restored, but instead of it they had only common fire in the second temple; for what is said of its being hid in a pit by the care of some religious priests, and again brought thence and revived upon the altar in the second temple, is a fable that deserves no regard; for it is a common tradition among the more sensible Jews, that there was no sacred fire in the second temple.

2 Macc. i. 18, 19.

Upon the consecration of the tabernacle, and its appurtenances, the several apartments of it were not equally holy; but there were different degrees of sanctity belonging to it. The outward court was not so holy as the holy place within the tabernacle; nor was that so sacred as the holiest of all. It is not certain whether the people were admitted into the court of the tabernacle or not. If they were, it could contain no great number; and they stood at a great distance from the priests in the lower part of the court, and were separated by some bounds or other, as they were in after-times when they came into Canaan. When they were settled there, and the tabernacle fixed in Shiloh, the Hebrews say it was inclosed with a wall, as well as with hangings; and then it is likely a distinct court was made for

1 Kings vi. 36. vii. 12. 2 Chron. iv 9. xxxiii. 5.

BOOK III.

the people; at least it was so in the time of David, who speaks of more courts than one. In the temple of Solomon we read plainly of the court of the priests, and the court of the people; unto which, in the temple of Herod, after the captivity, was added a third, the court of the women. Whoever entered this court of the tabernacle went upon the right side, except mourners, who for distinction sake went upon the left. They retired backwards, that they might not turn their backs upon the holy place. None but the high priest and the priests were permitted to go into the holy place; and into the most holy none was to enter but the high priest once a year upon the great day of expiation. Yet it is supposed that Moses had the privilege to consult the divine Majesty in the most holy place, where the divine glory shined; for (as Cunæus argues) since he was admitted into the mount to speak with God face to face for many days together, it is not unreasonable to think that he was admitted to speak with him upon occasion in the most holy place.

De Rep. Hebr. lib. ii. c. 5.

When this tabernacle was pitched in the wilderness, it stood in the midst of the camp. Moses, Aaron, and his two sons Eleazar and Ithamar, pitched at the east end at the entrance. The tent of Moses was toward the south, and Aaron was towards the north. The Levites were thus situated: the Kohathites pitched on the side of the tabernacle southward, the Gershonites lay behind westward, and the Merarites were ordered upon the side towards the north. The tribes of the people were thus disposed: Judah, Issachar, and Zebulon pitched upon the east; Reuben, Simeon, and Gad lay upon the south; Ephraim, Manasseh, and Ben-

jamin were appointed upon the west; and Dan, Asher, and Naphtali were commanded upon the north. The Levites first encamped about the tabernacle as a nearer enclosure and guard about it; and they pitched in the same form with the camp of Israel, which was quadrangular. The tribes were obliged to pitch at such a distance as might shew their regard and reverence to this sacred place; and the distance from the camp of Israel and the tabernacle is reasonably judged to have been two thousand cubits, that is, a mile. CHAP. VI.

CHAP. VII.

The Israelites guided in their marches by the pillar of a cloud, or of fire. The office of the Levites in taking down and setting up the tabernacle.

WHEN the camp of Israel moved in the wilderness, the tabernacle was carried along with it. The three tribes that were pitched upon the east marched first under the banner of Judah. This was the greatest body of all, which had the honour to be placed just before the oracle, as the strongest guard to it; the tribe of Judah lying in the midst, and the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun on each side of his standard. Then followed the three tribes that lay on the south under the banner of Reuben; the tribes of Simeon and Gad lying on either side of him under his standard. After these two camps, as they are called, the tabernacle was to follow, between those two that went before, and the camp of Ephraim and the camp of Dan that came after, with the tribes under their several banners: so that they did

BOOK III.

not march as they lay pitched, for then there was a camp upon each side of the tabernacle, whereas when they marched there was none on the sides; but two camps went before it, and two followed it.

The cloud or the fire that appeared visibly over the tabernacle was the direction the Israelites were to follow in pitching or removing their camps. The cloud and the fire were not different things; but the same pillar which was dark by day, when there was no need of light, shone like fire by night, when the dark part of it could not be seen: it appeared therefore like a cloud by day, and turned the light side to them (which was bright as fire) by night. When the cloud went up from the tabernacle, which before it covered, and appeared higher in the air, then they took down the tabernacle, and followed it; for it went before, and led them to the place where they were to rest. Where it stopped its motion they stood still, and set up the tabernacle, and encamped round about it; and when the sacred tent was fixed, the cloud descended, and rested upon it in its usual place. If the cloud settled in the evening upon the tabernacle, and was taken up again next morning, yet they followed its motion: and though they were at rest in their beds, yet if notice was given that the cloud moved, they immediately rose, and went after it; for they were sensible that their safety and protection depended upon the guidance of it. Moses is very particular in describing the nature of this cloud, and the obedience of the Israelites to its several motions. And his design was (as Maimonides remarks) to confute the conceit of profane persons, who imagined the reason of the Israelites staying so long in the wilderness was be-

More Nevoch, p. iii. c. 50.

cause they lost their way. For the Arabians, he says, in his days still called the wilderness, in which they travelled, *the wandering desert;* fancying that the Israelites were bewildered, (as we speak,) and could not find their way out. The scripture therefore punctually shews that all their removals, (which were irregular,) and the time they rested in any place, (which was very unequal, being sometimes for eighteen years, sometimes only for one day and one night,) were all ordered by divine direction. I might add, that the holy penman by his relation fully obviates the opinion of a mischievous writer now dead, who imagined that the cloud here spoken of was no more than a beacon of fire, of human preparation, carried upon poles, or other engines: for had it not been the divine will that the Israelites should wander so many years in the wilderness, they might easily have found their way out; for the way from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea (which was upon the borders of the land of Canaan) was a plain, known, and beaten road, of about eleven days' journey, which was almost impossible for them to miss. And therefore the guide, which led them for so many years about in that desert place, was a miraculous and supernatural direction: and the Israelites understood it to be such, or else they would never have submitted to so many hardships and difficulties in following of it.

Toland's Hodegus.

When the cloud removed, the tabernacle (as was observed before) was to follow. And for this purpose Aaron and his sons the priests went into the holy place, and took down the inward veil that hung between that and the most holy, and then entered the holiest of all, and advanced up to the ark itself.

BOOK III. While the cloud rested upon the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord filled the house, none but Aaron (and Moses upon special occasions) might come into the most holy place, where the ark was, and that but upon one day in the year, and then after he had filled it with incense, which made a cloud before the mercy-seat (which was the covering of the ark) over which the shechinah, or speciality of the divine presence, was pleased to rest: but that being removed in the cloud when it was taken up from the tabernacle, not only Aaron, but his sons also, might go into the most holy place without any irreverence; that which made it so holy (that is, the divine glory) being for the present gone out of it; so that there was no danger in approaching the ark upon which that glory was used to rest. This inward veil was laid over the ark, and over that was thrown a covering of badgers' skins, (not any of those wherewith the tabernacle was covered, but made on purpose for this use,) to defend the ark from the injuries of the weather when it was carried upon their shoulders. There was yet another covering of a cloth perfectly blue, and till that was laid upon the ark, the Levites durst not approach it. And since the tabernacle was the image of things in the heavens, (as not only the apostle, but the Jews themselves say,) the ark in particular being a figure of the celestial throne of God, it is not an unreasonable conceit of a rabbi, that this blue coloured cloth was spread over it as an emblem of the skies, which are spread like a curtain between us and the Majesty on high. Then were the staves, that were never taken out of the rings, so disposed under these coverings, that they might be readily laid upon the shoulders of the

Levites that were to bear them; and likewise that they might fall into the two notches that were made in them to keep the ark steady, and to prevent its sliding up and down as it was carried.

The table of shewbread was next made ready for carriage. And to secure it from injuries, it was covered with a cloth of blue; but, it is thought, not so deep a blue as the former. The shewbread, and the utensils belonging to the table, were carried upon it under this covering; upon which was laid a scarlet cloth, and over all a covering of badgers' skins. The staves were then set in their places, and the table was ready to be removed.

The candlestick and its appurtenances had but two coverings, a cloth of blue and a case of badgers' skins; it being of lesser value than the table of shewbread, and what belonged to it. Our translation says, this candlestick was carried upon a bar; but that could hardly be, for it had no rings about it, and therefore it might more properly be rendered a *bier;* for it was certainly something that was broad, and perhaps resembling a bier upon which corpses are at this time carried to their graves.

The golden altar was covered in the same manner with a cloth of blue and badgers' skins, and the staves were put into the rings ready for carriage. And the holy garments (called *instruments of the ministry*) used by Aaron and his sons in the time of their ministration, had the same coverings, and were carried upon a bier. And thus was every thing within the sanctuary packed up, and made ready to be removed.

In the next place directions are given for removing the altar of burnt offering that stood in the

BOOK III.

court; and for this purpose it was to be cleansed from its ashes. What became of the fire that was to burn perpetually upon it, is not said; but we may suppose it was carried upon the grate, which had rings on purpose that it might be removed separate. The altar, when all its vessels and instruments were put upon it, was covered with a purple cloth, and then with a covering of badgers' skins. The staves were put to it, and then it was ready.

The Levites of the family of Kohath had the charge of the most holy things, and their office it was to carry them when they were to be removed, even the ark itself: not but that the priests might sometimes bear the ark, being more in number than the Levites. And accordingly we find that upon extraordinary occasions they did; as when they passed over Jordan, and besieged Jericho: but ordinarily it was the business of the Levites, and they usually discharged it. But though it was the duty of the Levites to bear the holy things above mentioned; yet, as some imagine, they were not to touch any of them till they were covered by the priests: but it is more probable that even then they were not to touch them, but only the staves or the bier upon which they were carried; especially the ark, whose staves only they touched, and lifted it up, by putting them upon their shoulders. When *the glory of the Lord* was removed, and every thing was covered, the Levites might go into the most holy place; but they were not allowed to see the priests cover them, which was to be done before they approached, upon pain of death. And to prevent this penalty falling upon these Kohathites, Eleazar was commissioned to inspect into their several duties,

Deuteron. xxxi. 9. Josh. iii. 14. vi. 6.

and to see that they behaved with reverence; and Aaron and his son allotted to every one his share in the work, and ordered them to the particular service they thought most proper for them.

The family of the Gershonites were to carry the ten fine curtains which were the inward hangings of the tabernacle, and which, I suppose, they took down likewise. They had the charge of the eleven curtains of goats' hair, of the outward covering of all, which was of rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins; of the hangings of the court, and the hanging of the court-gate, and the cords used in fastening the hangings, and the brasen pins, and of all the utensils belonging to the outside of the tabernacle and the court about it. And that they might neither forget nor mistake their duty, the priests gave them the particulars of what they were to do in their several employments. This family was under the conduct and direction of Ithamar.

The most laborious service lay upon the Merarites. It was their duty to carry, and to take down, I suppose, the boards of the tabernacle, and the bars, and pillars, and sockets belonging to it; the pillars of the court, the sockets, pins, cords, and other utensils. And for the greater security, the priests gave them an inventory of the particulars, expressing by name every pin, for instance, to what use and in what place it served. This family was likewise under the care of Ithamar: for though the three Levitical families had a commander over them, yet there was an officer in chief set over them all; and this was Eleazar, who was more than a Levite, being the eldest son of Aaron the high priest. His business was particularly to supervise those who had

BOOK III. the sanctuary under their care; as it was the duty of Ithamar to take care of the Levitical families of Gershon and Merari. The heaviest burden lay upon these two families; and therefore they were not to carry upon their shoulders, but were allowed waggons, that such parts of the tabernacle that were most cumbersome might be more decently carried, and be secured from dust, rain, and other inconveniences. These waggons were not ordinary carriages, but were covered, and such as were used by persons of the first quality. The Gershonites, who had the less burdensome things to carry, had two waggons and four oxen allowed them. The Merarites, who had the greatest burden, had four waggons and eight oxen. But the Kohathites were to bear upon their shoulders: and this, as a learned rabbi observes, was for the greater honour and dignity of the ark, and of the law contained in it; and that the form and structure of the ark might not be discomposed, nor the ephod and the breastplate ruffled, as they might have been by the shaking of the carriage.

Maim. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 45.

CHAP. VIII.

The various motions and stations of the tabernacle and the ark, till they were placed in the temple of Solomon.

NOTHING, I think, remains upon this subject, but to take a short survey of the several motions and stations of the tabernacle and the ark, from their first erection, till they were removed and fixed in the temple of Solomon. The tabernacle was brought into the land of Canaan by Joshua, after it had been

flitting in the wilderness about thirty-nine years. It was first pitched and set up at Gilgal, the famous place of the first encamping of the Israelites; but the ark was parted from it immediately after it was fixed, and carried into the field before the army in the wars of Canaan. While the tabernacle remained at Gilgal, the sanhedrim sat near it, with a strong camp as a guard for the defence of both. The time of the tabernacle's resting in this place was till the land was conquered, and Judah and the sons of Joseph were seated, which was seven years, though some of the Jews allow it fourteen, during which time, they assert, it was lawful to sacrifice upon high places. When the land was conquered, and their affairs were settled in peace, they removed the tabernacle from Gilgal to a town of Ephraim, called *Shiloh*, or *peaceable*, because they had rest from their wars, and from their enemies round about. Here it stood from the seventh year of the government of Joshua to the death of Eli, about three hundred forty and nine years. And in this place the Jews suppose that the house of stone was built for the tabernacle, having no solid roof, but was still covered with the curtains it had when it was first made. And this they ground upon a passage in the first Book of Samuel, where the tabernacle is called a *temple;* and upon another place in the same book, where it is said to have *doors*. At Shiloh, says the Talmud, there was no roof, but a house of stone below, and curtains above; and it was a place of rest. The most holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the less holy and second tithe without. But there can be no certainty of this; for it is an usual thing to call the tabernacle by the

1 Sam. i. 9.

Ch. iii. 15.

In Zevachin per. 14.

BOOK III. name of a *temple*, as the temple when it was built is called a *tabernacle*. Besides, it is expressly said, that there was no house built unto the name of the Lord till the days of Solomon. And God himself declares positively, *I have not dwelt in an house since I came out of Egypt.*

Jerem. x. 20. Lam. ii. 6. 1 Kings iii. 2.

2 Sam. vii. 6.

From Shiloh the tabernacle was removed to Nob, a city of priests in the tribe of Benjamin. And this, it is supposed, was done by some prophetical direction, though it be not expressed. Its next station was at Gibeon, where David appointed priests and Levites in their attendance upon it; and here it continued till it was removed, with all the holy vessels, by Solomon into the temple which he had built. What became of them there, is variously conjectured; some supposing that they were still used, others that they were laid up: but the latter opinion seems the more probable, that this sacred fabric, and its utensils made by Moses, did, upon the rising of a greater and more eminent glory, decay, and were laid aside, as all his ceremonies were to do upon the rising of the gospel. And thus are settled the different stations of the tabernacle.

During the abode of the Israelites in the wilderness, the ark and the tabernacle were not separated, and they were both together set up at Gilgal; but they were parted immediately after they were fixed, and the ark was carried before them in the wars. It was borne by the priests when the army passed over Jordan; and whereas usually it was ordered to be carried in the middle of their camps, it was now carried in the front of them. It was the business of the Levites of the family of Kohath (says Kimchi) to bear the ark; but now the priests

are appointed to that office, for the greater sanctification or honour of it, and because of the miracle that was to be wrought before it. Our rabbins say that the priests carried it three times, now in this place, and when they compassed Jericho, and when Zadok and Abiathar brought it back to Jerusalem, upon David's flight from Absalom; unto which may be added a fourth, when it was brought into the temple of Solomon; for the Levites were not permitted to go into the sanctuary, much less into the most holy place, into which it was carried by the priests. The ark being carried in the front was a guide to the whole army; for the pillar of the cloud, which hitherto conducted them, had now left them, and was supplied by the ark, which went before them as that was used to do: and to secure to it a just awe and reverence, there was a space to be observed between it and the foremost rank of about two thousand cubits. This distance, it is supposed, was measured by a line, at which the people were at first set, and then walking in equal paces with the priests, kept the same distance, though perhaps not precisely, for they might chance to move a pace or two faster, or take larger paces; and therefore the command says *about two thousand cubits.* When the army had passed over Jordan, and advanced in order to encompass the walls of Jericho, the ark was removed from the front, the men of war marched first, then came seven priests blowing with seven trumpets, and were followed by the ark, and the people made up the rear. From Jericho the ark removed to mount Ebal, and then was carried to Shiloh, and placed in the tabernacle: but upon that fatal defeat given the Israelites by the Philistines, it 1 Sam. iv.

BOOK III. was captivated, and carried by the conquerors to Ashdod, one of the cities where some of the Anakims were left unsubdued by Joshua. Here they placed it in the temple of Dagon, the deity of the country, who by this victory and spoil seemed to triumph over the God of Israel; though there are some who imagine that their setting the ark by Dagon, on the side of him, signified that they intended to do some honour to it, as having the presence of God in it. This idol fell down before the ark, from the pedestal on which it stood, and was so broken with the fall, that his head and hands were thrown out of the door with the greatest contempt, being cut off upon the threshold of the temple. It was not only a plague to their gods, but to the people and to their country; for the men of Ashdod, and the adjacent coasts, were afflicted with a dreadful distemper, which interpreters differ much about. Some take this disease for a dysentery, which was so violent that it rotted the guts, and made them fall down and come out. Others think it was that which we call *procidentia ani*, the falling of the fundament. But most interpreters, ancient and modern, take it as we do, for the emerods, and that sort of them which do not swell outwardly, but lie hidden within, and are the most grievous and incurable. Upon this affliction a general council of the Philistines was called, whether to keep the ark, or how to dispose of it; and it was resolved by the lords in council that it should be carried to Gath, which was the next city northward; for they seemed to be possessed of a superstitious conceit, that there was something in the place which was offensive to the God of Israel, and that he might be better pleased

with another. But the men of Gath were sorely visited with the same disease, and therefore they sent the ark to Ekron, another city; but the governor growing wise by experience, summoned a council of the lords, who agreed to detain it no longer, and to send it quite out of the country; but the citizens smarted under the divine stroke as soon as the ark came thither, and were struck with the pestilence, which carried off multitudes of them; and those who were alive were plagued with emerods, and lingered under intolerable pains, which made them cry out in an inexpressible manner.

The ark, after its captivity at the battle of Aphek, was detained by the Philistines seven months; and when they resolved to remove it, they determined to send it home with presents, called a *trespass offering*, as an acknowledgment that they had offended the God of Israel for bringing the ark out of its proper place, for which they begged his pardon by this offering. This oblation consisted of the images of five golden emerods and five golden mice, which was the number of the lords of the Philistines; for as the people were afflicted with emerods, so was the country with mice, which had eaten their corn in the field, and other fruits of the earth; and it was a custom among the ancient heathens, to consecrate unto their gods such monuments of their deliverances as represented the evils from which they were freed. The five cities belonging to those lords, and the adjacent villages, were at the charge of these offerings; for their fields being principally afflicted by the mice, as the cities were by the emerods, it was reasonable that they should all join in this trespass offering, which was an offering of the

BOOK III.

whole nation as far as their coast extended. For the carriage of the ark they provided a new cart, and two milch kine that had never been yoked; for this would be a testimony that the God of Israel was the inflictor of their plagues, if the cows, notwithstanding their natural affection to their calves, which were kept at home, drew towards the land of Israel. The ark was laid upon the cart, and the golden presents were put into little bags which hung upon either side of it; for probably the Philistines had either heard, or by their sufferings were made to fear, that it was dangerous to look into the ark; and therefore they did not open it, but placed their offering on the outside.

The kine, without a driver, but guided by Providence, took the straight way to Bethshemesh, which was a city of the priests, and stood still in a field where there was a great stone, which perhaps was the boundary of the two countries. The Levites took down the ark out of the cart, which was not properly their business; the cows were sacrificed for a burnt offering upon the stone, which served instead of an altar; and the fire was made of the wood of the cart. The return of the ark was soon published over all the country, which drew together a great concourse of people; but their curiosity was the destruction of many of them; for they presumed to look into the ark, to see perhaps whether the Philistines had taken out the tables of the covenant, or to view a monument so sacred written by God himself; which occasioned the death of fifty thousand threescore and ten men.

The priests of Bethshemesh that escaped, sent to the men of Kiriathjearim to fetch up the ark to them,

and so they do. This was a principal city in the tribe of Judah, which stood upon a hill, and was well fortified; and being a strong place, there they thought the ark would be secure in case of any new incursions of their enemies. The reason why they did not carry it to Shiloh, its ancient seat, was, because the Philistines had destroyed that place. During its stay in this city, it was under the curb of a Philistine garrison, which was kept there, which hindered the people from resorting thither, especially in that utter coldness of religion that was among them: but at the end of twenty years they began to inquire after the ark, and to put away their strange gods, which procured them a wonderful victory over their enemies. While the ark was in this place, Saul sent for it to Gibeah, to inquire of God what was become of Jonathan and his armour-bearer; but it was restored from thence to Kiriath-jearim, which was the place appointed for it as yet by divine direction: for otherwise it might as easily have been set up in Nob, where the tabernacle was now standing.

1 Sam. xiv. 18.

David, about the second year of his reign in Jerusalem, resolved to fetch the ark from Kiriathjearim, where it had been a long time in the house of Abinadab, whose son Eleazar, being a Levite, was sanctified to attend upon it. For this purpose a new cart was prepared, which was expressly against the law, that commanded it to be carried upon the shoulders of the Kohathites; for which reason no waggons were allowed them, as the rest of the Levites had. How they came to forget themselves now, so as to put it upon a cart, is hard to determine: perhaps they imitated the custom of other

BOOK III.

nations, who were used to carry their mysteries in great pomp in a chest upon a cart drawn by oxen, or kine, as the Philistines did the ark itself. Uzzah and Abio, two other sons of Abinadab, attended: Abio perhaps guided the oxen, and Uzzah went behind the cart to take care of the ark; the king and the people went before in solemn procession, dancing and playing upon musical instruments. But the oxen coming into a dirty place stuck in the mire, and could not get out their feet; which Uzzah perceiving, and fearing the king and the people by this accident might be stopped too long in their procession, *took hold of the ark*, intending perhaps to carry it, with the assistance of his brethren, to mount Zion, which was not far off. But this should have been done before, and because he did it not, he was struck dead. Besides, a Levite was not allowed so much as to see the ark, much less to touch it; but it being covered by the priests, was to be carried by the Levites upon their shoulders at the staves' end. The manner of the death of this unfortunate Levite is variously conjectured: some think he was suddenly choked; others, that his arm and his shoulder, upon which he should have carried the ark, were dried up; others, that he was blasted with lightning. But all these and the like surmises are equally uncertain; it is enough to know that he died suddenly, not from any natural cause, but struck avengefully by the hand of Heaven. The learned Bochart observes truly, that though his intention perhaps was good, yet that would not excuse an offence against an express law divinely revealed. Abarbinel also adds this as a cause of his punishment, that he wanted faith in God, who would not

2 Sam. vi. 6.

Hierozoicon, p. i. lib. ii. c. 13.

have suffered his ark to fall into the dirt, but have supported it himself without Uzzah's help.

This sudden disaster so disturbed the solemnity of the procession, that David began to apprehend himself to be in danger; and therefore durst not at this time bring the ark into his city, but for the present laid it up in the house of Obed Edom, where he knew it would be reverentially treated. Here it continued for three months, from whence it was brought in great pomp to Sion, where he hung some curtains round about it, after the fashion of the tabernacle. Here he erected an altar for the offerings that were made upon the account of the ark's being brought up, but not for the use of continual sacrificing; and there he appointed a constant music to attend; but the priests waited at Gibeon, where the tabernacle was, and the daily sacrifice. When David fled from Absalom, the Levites carried the ark after him; but he did not think it decent that the ark should wander about with him in the uncertain condition he was; and therefore he ordered them to carry it back again. And in Sion it continued in the tabernacle erected for it, till Solomon brought it in great splendour, and placed it in the temple he had built. It was carried by the Levites to the temple, and then the priests took it up and carried it into the most holy place; for before the glory of the Lord filled the house, the priests were permitted to enter the oracle; but afterward none but the high priest might approach so near to the divine presence, which dwelt there. They set it under the cherubims made by Solomon, which covered both the ark and the staves; and then they drew out the staves so that the ends of them might

BOOK III. be seen, which directed the high priest in the way he should go, just before the mercy-seat, upon the great day of expiation. When the priests came out of the oracle, the cloud, in which was the glory of the Lord, descended and filled the temple, as it had anciently done the tabernacle when it was first erected: only there the cloud covered the tabernacle without, and the glory of the Lord shined within; but here the house itself was filled with the cloud, out of which the glory of the Lord broke; and, after it had filled the whole house, settled in the most holy place. In this posture the ark remained till it perished in the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans.

CHAP. IX.

The proseuchas of the ancient Hebrews.

DURING the abode of the tabernacle at Shiloh, there is mention made of a sanctuary at Shechem; for it is said that *Joshua took a great stone, and set it up there* (in Shechem) *under the oak, which was in* (or, as others, *by*) *the sanctuary of the Lord.* Various are the disputes of commentators concerning this sanctuary, and in what sense it is to be understood. But the principal opinions that carry most evidence are these two: the first, that by *the sanctuary* is meant no more than the house where the ark was lodged for that present occasion; for all the tribes meeting at Shechem, and being to make a covenant with God, Joshua commanded that the ark of the covenant should be removed thither, that the presence and dread of the Lord might be more visible among them; and the place where the ark was

Josh. xxiv. 26.

set for that time was called *the sanctuary*, as the tent of Moses was called *the tabernacle of the congregation*, because the glory of the Lord rested upon it before the tabernacle of the congregation itself was built. And further, it is urged, that the kings and the chief rulers of Israel had a power to carry the ark from the place of its constant residence, when there was a great occasion for it. And now, at this great assembly of the whole nation, by their representatives, there was a just reason for its being brought to Shechem, (since Joshua, for his age, could not conveniently go to Shiloh,) that it might be a more solemn meeting, being held in the presence of God. The case of the oak's being in or by the sanctuary, it is said, is not contrary to the precept which forbids any trees or tree to be planted near the altar of the Lord; for though they were prohibited to plant trees near God's altar, after the manner of the Gentiles, this did not make it unlawful to set up the sanctuary under a tree that had been planted before, especially when it was done only for a short time, and not to make it the settled place for its constant abode.

Bertram de Rep. Jud. cap. 15. 1 Sam. iv. 3, 4. 2 Sam. xv. 24.

Deut. xvi. 21, 22.

But the learned Mr. Mede is of another opinion, which he defends by reasons which to me are unanswerable, though the reader is left to judge for himself. His discoveries upon this subject are so curious, and so judiciously expressed, that I shall make no difficulty to use his own words, which go to the end of this chapter. The great matter, says he, of difficulty is, how this oak, or oaken holt of Sichem, is said here in my text to have been *in* (for so the Hebrew is) or *by* the sanctuary of the Lord; for how comes the sanctuary of the Lord to

Book i. dis. 18.

BOOK III.

be at Sichem, when as the tabernacle and the ark of the testimony were at Shiloh, there set up by Joshua himself, and so remained (as the scripture elsewhere tells us) *until the time of the captivity of the land*, which without question was not till after Joshua was dead and buried, and is usually understood of that time when the ark was taken captive by the Philistines; and yet is not only here a sanctuary mentioned at Sichem, but in the beginning of the chapter, the elders and officers of the tribes are said, upon Joshua's summons, to have *presented themselves there before the Lord*, which speech useth to imply as much?

Judg. xviii. 30, 31. 1 Sam. iv.

Josh. xxiv. 1.

If we say the ark of God was taken out of its place at Shiloh, and brought to Sichem by the Levites, upon occasion of this general assembly, yet the difficulty will not be removed; for, first, how could the ark alone give denomination to the place where it stood to be called *the sanctuary of the Lord?* Or, secondly, if the altar were there with it, how was the law of God observed, which saith, *Thou shalt not plant a grove of any trees* (or any tree) *near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set up a pillar; which the Lord thy God hateth:* whereas here are both, an *oak* or *quercetum*, in the sanctuary of God; and a pillar, or statue, erected under it? Thirdly, this sanctuary, whatsoever it was, must be something which had a constant or fixed station, and was not temporary and mutable; and that because the oak, under which this pillar was erected by Joshua, is here designed and pointed out by it, as by a constant or standing mark; or else to what purpose had it been to sign out the oak by it,

Deut. xvi. 21, 22.

if it were such as would be here to-day, and not to-morrow? For these reasons it appears, that this sanctuary could not be the tabernacle where the ark and altar for Israel were, but that it was something else; and what that should be is to be inquired. I answer, it was a proseucha, or praying place, which the Israelites (at least those of Ephraim, in whose lot it was) after the country was subdued unto them, had erected at that very place, at Sichem, where God first appeared to Abraham, and where he built his first altar after he was come into the land of Canaan, the place where God said unto him, *Unto thy seed will I give this land.*

For the understanding whereof you must take notice that the Jews, besides their tabernacle or temple, which was the only place for sacrifice, had (first or last) two sorts of places for religious duties, the one called *proseuchæ*, the other, *synagogues;* the difference between which was this: proseucha was a plot of ground encompassed with a wall, or some other like mound or enclosure, and open above, much like to our courts; the use properly for prayer, as the name proseucha importeth. A synagogue was *ædificium tectum*, a covered edifice, as our houses and churches are, where the Law and Prophets were read and expounded, and the people instructed in divine matters, according to that; *Moses in old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day.* From whence also you may gather, that synagogues were within the cities, as proseuchas were without.

Acts xv. 21.

That proseuchas were such places as I have described them to be, I prove out of a notable place of Epiphanius, a Jew bred and born in Palestine, who,

BOOK III. in his tract against the Massalian heretics, after he hath told us that the Massaliani built themselves "certain houses, or large places, like the ancients' "places of market, which they called *proseuchæ*," goes on thus: "and that the Jews of old (as also "the Samaritans) had certain places without the "city for prayer, which they called *proseuchas*, ap-
Acts xvi. 13. "pears out of the Acts of the Apostles, where Lydia, "a seller of purple, is said to have met with the "apostle Paul, and to have heard him preaching in "that place, of which the scripture saith it seemed "to be *a place of prayer*." He goes on still: "There is also at Sichem, which is now called Nea-"polis, above a mile without the city, a proseucha, "or place of prayer, like a theatre, which was built "in the open air, and without a roof, by the Sama-"ritans, who affected to imitate the Jews in all "things." Out of these words you may collect every part of my description: first, that *proseuchæ* were out of the cities, in the fields; secondly, that they were like the ancients' *fora*, or places of market, and under the open air, and without roof, such as the courts of the temple also were, whither the people came to pray; so that they were, as it were, a kind of disjoined and remoter courts unto the temple, whither they turned themselves when they prayed in them; thirdly, that they were ordained for places of prayer. All these are in this passage of Epiphanius; and moreover, that such a one was in his time remaining at Sichem, the place the text speaks of, there erected by the Samaritans, in that, as in all things else, imitators of the Jews. What better testimony could be desired?

As for proseuchas, such as we have described

them, none, that I know, have affirmed or determined ought of their antiquity, it may be not taken it into consideration, either because they had no occasion to think of any such matter, or because they confounded them altogether with synagogues. The matter therefore being yet free and undecided, I will make bold to affirm that proseuchas, that is, open places for prayer, were from the days of Joshua the son of Nun; and though the Jews had, or were to have but one altar, or place of sacrifice, that namely which the Lord should choose to place the ark of his covenant there, the tabernacle or temple, yet had they other places for devotion and religious use.

And that this sanctuary of God, here mentioned in my text at Sichem, (which was a Levitical city,) was such a one, my reasons are these: first, because it is incredible that the Israelites, having but one temple for the whole nation, whereat they were bound to appear, and those the males only, but thrice a year, should have no other places of prayer nearer their dwellings, whither they might resort on sabbath days, the temple or tabernacle being from some of them above an hundred miles distant at the least; secondly, because (as I have already shewed) this sanctuary at Sichem could not be the tabernacle, (which was then at Shiloh, not at Sichem,) and yet must have some stable and fixed place, because the situation of the oak is designed by it; yea, must have been still there, when this story of Joshua was written, which is thought to be long after his death. Surely this chapter was written after it, where both his death and burial are recorded. Wherefore to say the ark was brought

BOOK III. thither upon this occasion will not serve turn. Thirdly, this place should be a proseucha, because of that circumstance of trees growing in it; which, as it proves it not to have been the tabernacle, (where no such thing was lawful to be,) so seems it to be a characteristical note of a proseucha. For though it were not lawful to have trees near the altar of God, that is, in or about the court of the tabernacle, yet was it not so with proseuchas; yea, they seem to have been ordinarily beset and garnished with them. This may be gathered from a passage of Philo Judæus, where, relating the barbarous outrage of the Gentiles at Alexandria against the Jews there dwelling, in the time of Caius, saith he, of some of the proseuchas they cut down the *trees*, others they demolished to the very foundations. Mark, here they *distreed* the proseuchas.

The same is implied by that of the poet, speaking of a Jewish wizard or fortuneteller:

> Conducta sub arbore conjux.

And Juvenal in his sixth satire:

> Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
> Interpres legum Solymarum, et magna sacerdos
> Arboris, ac summi fida internuncia cœli.

Interpres legum Solymarum, that is, of Moses's laws; *magna sacerdos arboris*, because of the trees in their proseuchas, or places of worship. The same appears also out of those verses of his third satire, complaining that the once sacred grove of Fons Capenus, where Numa used to meet with the goddess Ægeria, was then let out to the beggarly Jews for a proseucha; and that every tree (such were the times) must pay rent to the people; by which means

the woods, which formerly had been the habitation of the Muses, were become dens for beggarly Jews to mutter their orisons in. Hear his words: CHAP. IX.

> Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ,
> Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
> Judæis; quorum cophinus, fœnumque supellex.
> Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
> Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camœnis.

Whence comes this connexion between Jews and trees[a], but from their having trees in their proseuchas, unto which their situation without the cities conduced, as also it did for privacy and retirement?

Thus you see how well the description and mark of a proseucha agrees to this sanctuary in my text. And that the Jews had many other such in other places, as well as at Sichem, even in those elder times, as at Mizpeh, Beth-el[b], and Gilgal, I make little doubt; which we read to have been places of the assembly of the people, and the two last sanctified by divine apparition, as Sichem was. Of Mispah, the author of the first of Maccabees, if I understand him, testifieth as much, when he tells us, that whilst the holy city lay desolate, and the sanctuary was trodden down by the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, Judas Maccabæus, and those of the people which adhered unto their God, assembled together at Mispah, to make there their supplications unto their God; because at Maspha, or Mispah, had been 1 Mac. iii. 46.

[a] Psalm lii. 8. *I am like a green olive tree in the house of God.* Is not *house of God* here a proseucha?

[b] Which seems to be the reason why these three places are called by the Seventy *sanctified places,* though in the original there be no such thing. It is worth the observing.

BOOK III. a place of prayer in former time for Israel; as much as to say, there had been a proseucha of old. And do we not read in that story of the Benjamitical
Judg. xx. 1. war, in the book of Judges, that the tabernacle being at Shiloh, (as appears by the last chapter,) yet in the chapter going before, it is said that *the whole congregation of Israel was gathered together as one man unto the Lord in Mizpeh;* and that in the twenty-sixth verse is mention made of an *house of God* there where the people prayed and fasted? True, it is said the ark of the covenant was, upon that extraordinary occasion, brought thither. But it being certain out of the next chapter that the tabernacle was still at Shiloh, this house of God could be none of it; nay, perhaps we may hence learn, that when the ark, upon occasion of such a general and extraordinary assembly, was to be removed, they used to bring it to such places as these, which were as holy courts ready prepared for it; and that then it was lawful, and not else, to sacrifice in them.

Psalm lxxiv. 7. Of these courts for prayer we may understand that also, *They have cast fire into thy sanctuary, they have burned up all the* conventicula Dei (the houses of God) *in the land,* namely, in the captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed both their temple and their proseuchas; for if we understand it of the prosecution of Antiochus, as some do, it must then follow that some canonical scripture was written after Malachi and the ceasing of prophecy, that is, in the time of the Maccabees, which will not easily be granted. Besides that, we read not that Antiochus cast any fire into the temple. Now if it speak of the vastation by Nebuchadnezzar, then

had the Jews before that time not only a sanctuary for sacrifice, but *conventicula Dei*, that is, proseuchas or synagogues, for either will serve my purpose. CHAP. IX.

But now you will say, what profit is there of this long discourse? Were it so, or were it not so, as I have endeavoured to prove, of what use is the knowledge thereof to us? Yes, to know it was so, is useful in a threefold respect.

First, for the right understanding of such places of the Old Testament, where a *house of God* and *assembling before the Lord* are often mentioned, there where neither the ark of the covenant nor the tabernacle at such time were. As (besides the places before alleged) we read of Saul's meeting with three men going up to God to Beth-el; and, in the fifth verse, of a place called *the hill of God*, whence a company of prophets came from the high place there, prophesying, with a tabret, pipe, and harp before them. In neither of which places can we find that ever the tabernacle was. And as for the ark, we are sure it was all this time at Kiriath-Jearim, till David solemnly fetched it thence. And if at any time the ark might (as now it was not) be transferred to any of them upon occasion of some general assembly of the nation, that so they might have opportunity to ask counsel of the Lord, and offer sacrifice, yet were they not the ordinary station thereof. 1 Sam. x. 3.

Secondly, we may learn from hence, that to have appropriate places set apart for prayer and divine duties, is not a circumstance or rite proper to legal worship only, but of a more common nature; forasmuch as though sacrifices, wherein the legal worship

BOOK III. (or worship of the old covenant) consisted, were restrained to the ark and tabernacle, and might not be exercised where they were not, yet were there other places of prayer besides that, which are no more to be accounted legal places, than bare and simple prayer was a legal duty.

Lastly, we may gather from this description of proseuchas, which were as courts encompassed only with a wall, or other like enclosure, and open above, in what manner to conceive of the accommodation of those altars we read to have been erected by the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the book of Genesis, namely, that the ground whereon they stood was fenced, and bounded with some such enclosure, and shaded with trees, after the manner of proseuchas: as we may read expressly of one of them at Beersheba, that Abraham planted there a grove, and called upon the name of the Lord, the everlasting God; yea, when the tabernacle and temple were, the altar of God stood still in an open court. And who can believe that the place of those altars of the patriarchs was not bounded and separated from common ground? And from these patterns, in likelihood, after the altar for sacrifice was restrained to one only place, was continued still the use of such open places or courts for prayer, garnished with trees, as I have shewed proseuchas to have been.

Gen. xxi. 33.

CHAP. X.

The temple of Solomon; the preparations for the building; the foundation, walls, porch, &c., collected from the account of scripture.

THE building of a temple, as a fixed place for divine worship, was first projected at Naioth in Ramah between Samuel and David, who for some time lived together in that place, and there contrived a plan of the fabric, and set out the manner of the service; and they even designed the very porters that were to watch in the gates of the temple, and took the number of them by their genealogies in their several villages. This pious prince, though he knew not where to hide his head from the fury of Saul, yet had that steady faith in the promise made to him, that in all his wars and victories he dedicated something of his spoils for that sacred purpose; so that at his death he left the greatest sums of silver and gold, and a stock of brass and iron, and such materials, that stand upon record in any history. And as he received his first instructions from Samuel, so he improved them by the prophetic directions of Gad and Nathan, and so settled the priests and the Levites in their courses, and carpenters and masons in their work; and so exactly described the platform of the building, that in a manner he left to Solomon no more than the care to see the work done, for he had provided all the materials before.

CHAP. X.

1 Sam. xix. 18.

1 Chron. ix. 22.

2 Sam. viii. 10, 11.

1 Chron. xviii. 8.

The place designed for this structure was the mountain of Moriah, then in the possession of Araunah, a man of quality among the Jebusites, who was spared by David when he took the fort of Zion.

BOOK III. This mount was so situated in the midst of Jerusalem, that the city lay in the form of a theatre round about it. And upon it was the threshing-floor of this rich Jebusite, where David, by divine direction, built an altar; and God, by divine fire upon it, fixed that very spot for the place of the altar of the temple that was afterwards built. This was the place, the Jews say, where Abraham offered up his son, where Noah built his altar when he went out of the ark, where Cain and Abel made their oblations; nay, where Adam offered when he was created, according to a saying of their doctors, Adam had the same place of expiation as he had of creation. But first this prince made a purchase of the threshing-floor, for which he gave fifty shekels of silver; which, according to two shillings and five pence the shekel, (as the learned Mr. Greaves and archbishop Usher compute,) amount to, in our money, six pound and two pence. He afterwards bought the whole mountain at the rate of six hundred shekels of gold, which comes to eight hundred and seventy pound. Having thus obtained a property in the mount, he took care in the next place to deliver to his son Solomon a model of the temple, and all its buildings; a pattern of the porch, houses, treasuries, upper chambers, inner parlours, the place of the mercy-seat, of the courts of the house, the chambers round about, the treasuries of the house of God, and the treasuries of the dedicated things. He likewise settled the courses of the priests, gave directions for the vessels, and the whole work of the service.

1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12, 13.

The materials he provided were of different kinds. First he dedicated a hundred thousand talents of

1 Chron. xxii. 14.

gold. Now a hundred thousand talents of silver (according to the forementioned rate of a shekel at 2*s.* 5*d.*) arise to 36,250,000*l.* of our money; which being multiplied by twelve, according to the proportion of silver to gold, will give the sum to be 435,000,000*l.* This gold was to make the instruments of gold, the candlesticks, lamps, tables, flesh-hooks, bowls, cups, and basons, the altar of incense, and the cherubims. He likewise set apart a thousand thousand talents of silver, which come to 362,500,000*l.* This was for the instruments of silver, the candlesticks, lamps, tables, and basons. The brass he provided was without weight, some of which he brought from Tibhath and Cun, cities of Hadarezer king of Zobah; and with this Solomon made the brasen sea, and the pillars and the vessels of brass. He dedicated also vessels of gold, silver, and brass, that were sent him as a present from the king of Hamath, and those treasures also which he brought from Edom, Moab, Ammon, the Philistines, and the land of Amalek. He laid in an infinite quantity of iron, and prepared precious stones of all sorts, and marble stones, and hewn stones that were wrought by masons that were proselytes in Israel, and instruments of music for the Levites, and cedar trees in abundance. Besides this, he gave out of his own proper goods three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir, which come to 13,050,000*l.*, and seven thousand talents of refined silver to overlay the walls of the house, which is equivalent to the sum of 2,537,500*l.* So that the whole offering of David in gold and silver amounted to 813,088,379*l.* and 2*d.* The chief of the fathers and the princes of the tribes offered voluntarily in the whole 25,388,986*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

1 Chron. xxviii. 14, &c.

1 Chron. xxii. 14.

1 Chron. xxii. 3.

1 Chron. xxix. 2. 2 Chron. vii. 6.

2 Chron. xxix. 4.

1 Chron. xxix. 5, 6.

BOOK III. So that the sum collected for this sacred design amounted in our money to eight hundred and thirty-eight millions, four hundred seventy-seven thousand, three hundred and sixty-five pounds, thirteen shillings and sixpence, all deposited in the hands of Shelimoth, a principal treasurer, and the sixth in a direct line from Moses. I remember the famous Dr. Donne, in his dedication sermon for Lincoln's Inn chapel, remarks, that if all the kings in Christendom would send in all they had at once to any one service, it would not equal this magnificent contribution of David and his princes. I might add, that Samuel is recorded as a principal benefactor upon this occasion. Saul likewise dedicated some of his treasure to the house of God. Abner also, general to Saul, and Joab, the chief captain of David's army, and the military officers of inferior note, separated a part of their spoils to the sacred service of the temple.

1 Chron. ix. 22. xxvi. 28.

Furnished with such prodigious preparations for so glorious a work, Solomon provided a vast army of workmen, in their several distances, to advance this fabric. Fourscore thousand strangers or proselytes were hewers in the mountains; threescore and ten thousand were bearers of burdens; and three thousand six hundred officers were appointed to look over them. Thirty thousand Israelites were employed to work in Lebanon by courses, ten thousand in every month, and each third number rested two months at home, over whom was a principal officer; which number of natives being added to the foreigners, amount to a hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred men and one. Eupolemus, in Eusebius, mentions a great number of men sent to

1 Kings v. 15. 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. 1 Kings ix. 23.

1 Kings v. 13.

Solomon by Vafres the king of Egypt, who also speaks of a great number of the Tyrians. Scripture is silent as to the former; but it is certain, as to the latter, that Hiram king of Tyre assisted with his subjects in this work. And if we judge by the quantity of provision they consumed, their number must be very considerable. But, notwithstanding the number of hands, it was about eleven or twelve years space before the temple was finished. They were four years in hewing stone and framing timber, and seven years and a half in bringing up the building; for David in the last year of his reign gathered the proselytes in the land, and set them to work; and so they continued preparing materials till the fourth year of the reign of Solomon; in the second month of which year the foundation of the house was laid, and in the eighth month of the eleventh year the work was finished; and so it was seven years and a half in building, which the scripture, for roundness of the number, counts but seven.

CHAP. X.

1 Kings v. 6. 2 Chron. ii. 8, 10.

1 Kings vi. 37, 38.

The stones for this fabric were so fitted for their several uses and places before they were brought thither, that they were joined together without any other labour or noise than by putting them one by or upon another. The Jews are so foolish as to fancy that they were not hewn nor planed by any instrument before they were brought to the place, but a worm called *samir*, which God created on purpose, did the business; and that the stones of their own accord came to the temple, and there the angels laid them in their place and order. But these are fables scarce fit to be mentioned.

1 Kings vi. 7.

A just description of the dimensions and figure of this temple has been allowed by commentators to be

BOOK III.

full of difficulty, as well because the scriptures have not so accurately set out the account, as to justify an exact delineation of it in all its parts, as that many terms in architecture are made use of, the present signification of which is differently understood by the best interpreters. The writers upon this subject generally supply this defect by describing more particularly the visionary temple of Ezekiel, which they understand to be exactly the same with that of Solomon's. "But," says the most learned Lightfoot, (to whose labours I have been abundantly indebted through these Antiquities,) "the temple of Ezekiel is spiritually and mystically "to be understood. The description of the temple "and city that he hath given in the end of his book, "as it was a prediction of some good to come, so "was that prediction true thus far according to the "very letter, namely, that there should be a temple "and a city newly built; and so it was a promise "and a comfort to the people then in captivity of "their being restored again to their own land, and "their enjoying Jerusalem and the temple again, as "they had done in former time, because of their "removing and captivating out of their own coun-"try. But as for a literal respondency of that temple "and city to all the particulars of his description, "it is so far from it, that his temple is delineated "larger than all the earthly Jerusalem, and his "Jerusalem larger than all the land of Canaan; "and thereby the scope of the Holy Ghost in that "ichnography is clearly held out to be, to signify "the great enlarging of the spiritual Jerusalem and "temple, the church under the gospel, and the spi-"ritual beauty and glory of it, as well as to certify

Ezek. xli. &c. Second Temple, fol. ed. p. 1051.

"captivated Israel of hopes of an earthly city and "temple to be rebuilt, which came to pass upon "their return under Cyrus." No certain assistance therefore is to be had upon this subject, but from the account of scripture, which will be carefully followed in the description now to be attempted. I premise only, that the cubit, by which the temple is measured, is computed to be the same with our half yard.

The foundation, the walls.

The foundation of this sacred building was not only strong, but also magnificent. It was laid with stones of great bigness and value, not rough, but hewn and polished, that they might lie even and regular. Of what depth they were scripture is silent; but by the rules of architecture they should be in depth a fifth or sixth part of the height, when the place is solid. The fabric standing upon a rocky mount, we may allow for the porch of a hundred and twenty cubits high, the depth of twenty cubits; and for the whole house, being thirty high, five cubits' depth for the foundations, and on each side half a cubit broader than the walls of the house. 1 Kings v. 17. vii. 10.

The full thickness of the walls is not to be proved from scripture: only this is discovered, that they were four cubits thick, at least just by the ground; for we read of three cubits abated in the thickness of the walls for the beams of the side chambers to lie upon; and therefore we allow but one cubit for the thickness of the wall from above the roof of the third and highest story of the chambers, to the roof or top of the temple itself. If we allow six at the bottom, there will remain three at the top; which is the least we can allow, considering the height,

BOOK III. together with its magnificence and designed duration. But whatever was the thickness, the wall for five cubits from the ground upward was thicker by a cubit than it was from thence above. At the height therefore of those five cubits there was a bench of the wall, of a cubit breadth, left outerly round about the temple, on which they laid one end of the beams and timber; which was the roof of the lowest chambers, or the floor of the second story; for there were chambers of three stories high, built round about the sides of the house, north and south, and at the west end, and they joined to the walls of the house without, not by having their beams fastened in the walls of the house, or to a wooden wall, which some imagine went round the house, but laid upon the outer benches of the wall. Then again, for five cubits above that, the wall was thicker by a cubit than it was above; and at the height of those five cubits there was such another bench left again, and on that they laid the beams for the roof of the second story, which was the floor of the third: and so likewise for five cubits above that, the wall was yet thicker by a cubit than it was above, and there the like bench was left again, and there were laid the beams of the roof of the third story, and of the whole building.

The porch.

1 Kings vi. 3. The temple stood east and west; the length of all from east to west was seventy cubits, the breadth twenty cubits, besides the breadth of the side chambers; and it resembled one of our churches; but only it differed in this, that the steeple of it (which was the porch) stood at the east end, and the most holy place at the west. This porch was a magni-

ficent fabric, twenty cubits in length from north to south, (for its length ran parallel to the breadth of the house,) in breadth from west to east ten cubits, and an hundred and twenty cubits high. Probably it was not empty and void to the top, but had chambers and winding stairs ascending up to the roof. It is the general opinion that the height of the temple was but thirty cubits; but there are men of learning who conceive the whole fabric to be of one uniform height equal with the porch; for otherwise, they say, that the scripture makes no mention of the height of the house at all. And besides, it immediately follows, that *he overlaid it with pure gold;* which is not true of the porch, (for that was not overlaid with gold,) but of the house of God only, which, from the foundation to the covering of it, was thirty cubits high; and above that covering were three stories of chambers, which were ninety cubits; and so in all the height of the house was a hundred and twenty. But the scripture makes no mention of a second or upper story, and expressly confines the height of the temple to just thirty cubits. It is supposed that there were stately rails of stone upon the top of this porch, besides the curious ornament of pinnacles. The general opinion is, that this porch had no gates belonging to it, though the doors of the porch are expressly mentioned by king Hezekiah. The venerable Bede asserts, that standing full east, the equinoctial sun, without any obstacle, did send his beams through the door of the temple and oracle into the very ark, which was within the holy of holies. But this seems impossible; for the door of the oracle was never left open, and the rays of the sun could never pierce through; yet he allows

CHAP. X.

2 Chron. iii. 4.

Ribera de Templo, lib. i. cap. 2.

2 Chron. xxix. 7.

In Lib. Reg. Quæst. xii.

BOOK III. that there was a gate to the porch; though, after all, he (as many interpreters understand by the doors of the porch) might mean the doors of the outer sanctuary opening into the porch. But of this the judicious reader may determine. The height of the arched portal is not laid down in scripture; perhaps the lowest room within was equal in height to the rest of the house, that is, thirty cubits.

1 Kings vi. 33. Between the porch and the holy place there was a partition, which supported the west wall of the porch, that was ninety cubits higher than the house. This partition was twenty cubits in length. At the distance of four cubits from either side wall, there was a post of olive tree fixed, of a cubit thickness, upon which hung a door five cubits broad; so that the whole breadth of the entrance into the holy place was ten cubits.

The sanctuary, its doors, walls, floor, windows, and roof.

The sanctuary, or holy place, or body of the temple, sometimes called *the greater house*, sometimes *the house* only, or the middle part between the porch and the oracle, had these dimensions: for the extent 1 Kings vi. 2, 3, 17. of its length within the walls from east to west it contained forty cubits, the breadth from north to south was twenty, and the height thirty. Arias In 4to. p. 89. Montanus contends that the sanctuary within was but twenty cubits high, equal to the height of the oracle, and that there were private chambers over it as well as over the most holy place; but the scriptures speak no such thing.

1 Kings vi. 33, &c. 2 Chron. iv. 22. The doors of this house, or holy sanctuary, at the west end of the porch, or the east end of this holy place, were of folding leaves made of fir tree, and the posts on which they hung were of olive tree

made four-square. They were covered with thin plates of gold, which were laid and embossed upon carved cherubims, palm trees, and open flowers.

The outside of the walls exposed to open view, some conceive, was overlaid with silver; for which purpose David appointed seven thousand talents of that metal refined: though others apprehend, that without they were of white polished marble. The inside of the walls was first covered with cedar, and carved with the figures of cherubims, with knops (of an oblong figure like an egg) and open flowers; and all these laid in gold of Parvaim. We find that in some select places they were most nobly adorned with precious stones; but of what sorts, and in what curious method they were disposed, it is impossible to learn.

1 Chron. xxix. 4.

2 Chron. iii. 6.

The floor of the house was first laid with planks of fir, which were covered with cedar, and all overlaid with pure gold.

Concerning the windows, we neither read of their number, nor the particular dimensions of any, neither their fashion, or of what materials. It is probable they were of an oblong square, their length being perpendicular to the plane of the horizon, and, according to the mode of ancient sacred buildings, narrow without, and broad within; by which means the house was better secured from the weather, and yet had light enough. Their length cannot clearly be proved; only this is certain, that the lowest part of them must be conceived to have been at least fifteen cubits from the pavement, because the chambers on the outside of the temple-walls reached so high, if not more, as will presently appear.

1 Kings vi. 4.

BOOK III.

Deut. xxii. 8.

The roof of the house, it is supposed, was flat, according to the architecture of the Hebrews. Upon the sides it was guarded with battlements, and probably adorned with pinnacles. It was not supported with any pillars, (as we read of,) either of metal, stones, or timber. The roof was an arch within, which made it look more noble; and the covering was of boards and beams of cedar without. How it was secured from the injuries of the weather is no where expressed. It is probable it was not defended with sheets of lead, for nothing of that metal is mentioned in the particulars of the temple. The inside of the cedar beams of this stately roof was ceiled with fir trees, adorned with carvings of palm trees, and chains, and overlaid with gold. And on the top of all, Eusebius relates out of Eupolemus, that there were bells disposed in an artificial manner to fright away birds; though the Jews say, that because of the holiness of the first temple, and the divine glory dwelling there, no birds would alight upon it.

Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 34.

The oracle.

1 Kings vi. 31.

The oracle, sometimes called *the inner house*, *the inner sanctuary*, *the holy of holies*, and *the most holy house*, comes next to be surveyed; but some account should first be given of the partition between the holy place and this holy of holies. The general opinion is, that it was but one cubit thick. In this wall, which was twenty cubits in length, there was a door that took up the space of ten cubits. This door was of olive tree, carved with cherubims, palm trees, and open flowers, and all overlaid with gold. Upon this wall of partition there

Cunæus de Rep. Heb. lib. ii. cap. 14.

were borders or chained wreaths of gold, with a swelling in the border like a bar in it, carried from the one side of the house to the other upon the wall.

The walls of this most holy place were of square polished marble, as the ancient Jews generally believed. The outside, it is conceived, was covered with plates of silver; the inside with boards of cedar wrought with cherubims, palm trees, and open flowers, and all overlaid and gilt with pure gold. The quantity of gold expended upon the oracle amounted to six hundred talents, which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our sterling money. The dimensions of the most holy place was a perfect cube excavated, of twenty cubits high, long, and broad. The floor of this oracle was first covered with boards of cedar, and then overlaid with gold. It is supposed it had no windows; for it was opened but once a year for the entrance of the high priest, whose business there required no more light than what came through the door. The temple, as before observed, was thirty cubits in height, and the holy place was open to the roof. Now it is said that the holy of holies was but twenty cubits high; and therefore it may properly be inquired what became of the remaining ten cubits reaching up to the roof of the temple. It is said generally that it was used for some sacred service; but this is scarce possible, there being no way mentioned for any body to come into it. Arias Montanus is of another opinion, who makes two chambers over the oracle, each of five cubits' height, overlaid with gold, wherein the vessels and utensils belong-

1 Chron. xxix. 4. 1 Kings vi. 16, 20, 21, 29. 2 Chron. iii. 8.

2 Chron. iii. 9.

BOOK III. ing to the tabernacle, which were not used in the temple of Solomon, were carefully preserved. The sides and the roof of the oracle were overlaid with plates of gold, which were fastened with golden nails. They bored small holes into the plates, and the cedar boards underneath, and so drove square
2 Chron. iii. 9. golden rivets into those holes, each of which weighed fifty shekels, which amounted to about seventy-six pounds in our money. Some conceive that the roof was set with precious stones. Within the partition wall there was a veil hung up of blue and purple and crimson, and fine linen, all wrought with winged cherubims. It was certainly hung within, otherwise the high priest might come within the veil, and yet not be in this most holy place.

The side chambers of the temple.

1 Kings vi. 5. It is said in scripture that *chambers were built round about;* yet because mention is only made of the temple and oracle, it is concluded that there were no chambers at the east end, where the porch stood, because it would hinder the prospect of it. Round therefore north, south, and at the west end, were chambers of three stories high, and five cubits was the height of every story, the whole being fifteen cubits high in all, and they joined to the wall of the house without. The highest story was a cubit wider than the middle, and the middle a cubit wider than the lowest, and yet the outmost wall of them was even and straight. The reason of this different breadth of the stories has been before observed, when we spoke of the walls of the temple. These chambers are supposed to be thirty in all, twelve on

the south side, as many on the north, and six on the west; that is, four on a floor on the north and south, and two at the west. They took up half the height of the house, being as the lower leads of our churches to the higher. In the outer wall of these chambers there were windows, narrow without, to receive the light; and wide within, to disperse and dilate it; though some Jews believe they were made in a direct contrary way; because God, they say, had no need of such created light. These chambers, it is supposed, were encompassed with galleries, without which there would have been no convenient passage into them. The doors of the lower of these chambers were upon the ground. The way to the middle chambers was through a door on the south side, called in the Hebrew *the right side;* because when men look toward the east, the south is on the right hand. From this door there went a winding staircase into the middle row, and from thence there was the like pair of stairs into the third story. Some think there was likewise a door in the north; but it is more probable that one door carried them all round. The use of these chambers was to lay up corn and wine, tithes and firstfruits, and other necessaries for the use of the priests. Here they slept, laid up their garments, and eat of the sacrifices.

Thus is the fabric of the temple described, as far, I think, as the light of scripture discovers. But, for a more particular illustration, I shall subjoin a conjectural draught of its dimensions, considered together with its spaces and walls, as also the chambers and their walls, which if it fails to be exact, I shall be glad to be corrected by the judgment of better architects.

The breadth thus.

	Cubits.
The south wall of the chambers	4
The chamber floor	5
The south temple wall	6
The temple floor	20
The north wall of the temple	6
The north chamber floor	5
The north chamber wall	4
The breadth.....	50

The length east and west.

The west wall of the chambers	4
The floor of the west chamber	5
The west wall of the oracle	6
The floor of the oracle	20
The partition wall between the oracle and the holy place; which being allowed three cubits, to raise a symmetry or double proportion to the breadth, will make the whole an hundred. Or if you please to allow the west wall of the chambers six cubits, and this but one only, as commonly, it comes all to one	3
The holy house	40
The wall between the house and porch to support its height of a hundred and twenty cubits	6
The porch floor	10
The east wall of the porch	6
The length.....	100

The height of the house.

The inward height	30
The roof one cubit at least	1
The battlements above the roof, according to the proportions of Josephus, in the walls of Jerusalem	5
The height.....	36

The height of the porch.

The inward height	120
The roof	1
The battlements	5
The height of the porch	126

The breadth of the porch east and west.

	Cubits.
The east wall	6
The area	10
The west wall	6
	22

Its length.

The south wall	6
The area	20
The north wall	6
	32

CHAP. XI.

The furniture of the most holy place and of the sanctuary. The ark, the altar of incense, ten tables of shewbread, ten golden candlesticks, bowls, basons, spoons, &c. The pillars Boaz and Jachin.

THE dimensions of the temple in all its parts being defined, the furniture of this sacred fabric comes next to be considered. And because the oracle was the most holy and magnificent apartment, let us first inquire what was by divine appointment deposited in it. Up therefore, towards the west end of the most holy place, was set the ark of the covenant, (as is observed before,) upon a stone (say the Jews) under the middle wings of the two tall cherubims that stood besides it; for as there were two cherubims upon the ark itself, which were of solid gold, and arose out of each end of the mercy-seat, being of one piece with it, so Solomon made two other cherubims of olive wood, and overlaid

BOOK III.

them with gold. These images stood upon their feet upon the floor of the house. Each was ten cubits high, and were set with their faces towards the sanctuary; so that they looked upon every one that entered into the oracle. Each wing of each cherubim was five cubits long, all four wings being extended to the length of twenty cubits, that is, the whole breadth of the holy of holies. The two inward wings touched each other; and the two ends of the outward wings touched the wall of the house; and under the inward wings was placed the ark of Moses, with the golden cherubims upon it.

When the ark was set down in its proper place, the staves were drawn out; for before the temple was built, while the ark was in a moving posture, the staves by which they carried the ark were of an equal length at either end, ready for the shoulders of the priests when there was occasion for the ark to move: but now when it was brought into the temple of Solomon, where it was to fix, and from whence it was to remove no more, they drew out the staves towards that side that looked down the sanctuary. The ark was set between the two cherubims that stood upon the floor. The cherubims' inward wings covered the ark, and the staves that were above at the ends of the ark; but the rest of the staves drawn out downward toward the door of the oracle, shot out from under the cherubims' wings, and appeared in the open face of the most holy place. It may be observed that Solomon did not attempt to make a new ark, which was the only thing made by Moses, which that pious prince did not imitate and make more glorious. But this he durst not presume to open, and to take out the book of the

law, and put it into an ark of his own making. It was unlawful for him to touch it; and therefore he let it remain with its cover, the mercy-seat, and the cherubims belonging to it; and only placed these new cherubims over it for the greater beauty and ornament of the house. This was the furniture of the oracle. CHAP. XI.

Within the sanctuary, or holy place, were set the altar of incense, the ten tables of shewbread, and the ten golden candlesticks. The altar of incense was placed in the middle of the sanctuary at the upper end. Some are of opinion, that the altar of incense that was in the temple of Solomon was the same that Moses made for the tabernacle, only he covered it with cedar, and overlaid it with gold. But this is impossible to be believed; for David is said expressly to have prepared refined gold by weight, on purpose for the altar of incense; and Solomon is said positively to have made a new one. But we know no more of it, than that it was within of cedar, and covered with gold.

1 Chron. xxviii. 28. 1 Kings vii. 48. 2 Chron. iv. 19.

There were ten tables of shewbread made by Solomon, of pure gold, prepared by his father; and they were placed five on the right, and five on the left side of the sanctuary. There is mention made of tables of silver; but their use or situation is not to be found. These golden tables, it is supposed, were made after the model of that of Moses, though of a larger size; and upon one of them, in all probability, which was more noble than the rest, was the shewbread placed; unless we suppose that the table which Moses made was preserved for that use, and Solomon added the rest for the greater ornament of the place.

2 Chron. iv. 7, 8.

BOOK III.

1 Kings vii. 48. 2 Chron. iv. 7.

Instead of one candlestick that was in the tabernacle of Moses, Solomon made ten, probably of the same fashion, and placed them five on the right side of the sanctuary, and five on the left. There is no account of their height, or of the extent of their branches. Besides, there is mention made of silver candlesticks designed by David; but how large, and where placed or used, is nowhere recorded.

The golden utensils belonging to the sanctuary, were tongs to take coals from the altar of burnt offering; bowls to keep oil for the lamps; snuffers to trim them; basons (which were an hundred) to receive the water of sprinkling, and the blood of the sacrifices, which was sometimes brought into the most holy place; spoons to take up the oil; censers were to offer incense, though some by the word understand dish-pans, wherein the incense was kept. There were other censers of silver which received the coals from the altar upon all days, but the tenth of Tisri, (which was the great day of expiation,) when the golden censer received them, and by it the most holy place was incensed. On other days it was not employed but at the altar of incense, where the coals were poured out of the silver censer (which received them from the altar of burnt offerings) into the golden, to burn the incense.

Such were the vessels that furnished the sanctuary. Nor was the porch itself without its ornaments; for within, at the very entrance, standing up to the cheeks of the gate, were erected the two famous pillars, Jachin and Boaz. They were for matter brass, for form cylinders, for height eighteen cubits each, for compass twelve cubits, for diameter about four cubits: they were four fingers thick of

1 Kings vii. 15.

solid metal, and hollow within. Upon the tops of the pillars were two chapiters, five cubits higher than the pillars, with nets of chequer-work; and each pillar had seven wreaths of chain-work, with two rows of pomegranates, a hundred in a row; but ninety-six only could be seen by those who stood upon the pavement of the porch: so that there were upon both chapiters four hundred pomegranates in all, which were put upon chains in two rows. Both pillars joined together in their measure were but thirty-five cubits high; that is, twice eighteen, bating one cubit; because each chapiter sunk half a cubit within the socket of the cylinder for its fastening: so that each pillar, with its chapiter, was twenty-two cubits and a half high, the pillar seventeen and a half, and the chapiter five. They were placed within the porch: the pillar on the right side, that is, the south, was called *Jachin*, which signifies *he will establish*, intending the promise of God to establish the throne of David and his people Israel: that on the left, or the north side, was called *Boaz*, which signifies *herein is strength*, alluding perhaps to the ark that was within, which is called *the strength of the Lord*. It is generally thought that these pillars were made and erected only for ornament, because they supported no building. But it is no improbable conjecture of Abarbinel, a learned Jew, who observes that Solomon had respect to the pillar of the cloud and the pillar of fire that went before them and conducted them in the wilderness, and was the token of the divine presence among them. These he set at the porch and entrance of the temple, (Jachin representing the pillar of the cloud, and Boaz the pillar of fire,) praying

1 Kings vii. 21.

BOOK III. and hoping that the divine light and the cloud of his glory would vouchsafe to enter in there, and by them God and his providence would dwell among them in this house.

CHAP. XII.

The courts of the temple; the altar of burnt offering, the brasen sea, and ten lavers of brass. The gates of the courts. The dedication of the temple.

1 Kings vi. 36. THE courts of the temple were at first but two, the court of the priests, called *the inner court,* and the court of the people. The court of the priests was separated from the other by a wall of three cubits high, made of hewn stone, and faced within with cedar: and this partition was made low, that the people who were in the outward court might see what the priests did, and the priests likewise from thence might speak and deliver any message from God to the people. Here the priests officiated, and the vessels fixed in this inward court were the altar of burnt offering, the brasen sea, and the ten lavers of brass.

2 Chron. iv. 1. The altar stood in the middle of this inner court, exactly before the porch, leading into the holy place, and upon it were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening service, and all other offerings ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by fire. It was twenty cubits long, twenty cubits broad, and ten in height: so that it was four times as big in its square as was the altar made by Moses, and three times as high, and a cubit over; but whether it were exactly of the fashion of that of Moses, as whether the middle space within its

square were hollow like his, or made up with unhewn stone; and whether it had a grated hearth like his, or a solid; and what was the manner of the ascent to it, is easier to be conceived and guessed at, than to be discovered by any light the scripture has given. This altar was beaten down and destroyed by the Babylonians at the burning of the temple, and in the same place was it again restored after the captivity. CHAP. XII.

It has been often wondered by learned men, how it was possible that so many sacrifices, that were often offered at one time upon this altar, could be consumed in so short a space, without any inconvenience to the priest or the people, or the temple itself. Surely the divine fire upon it was of a more singular quickness and dispatch than common culinary fires; it consumed the sacrifice in an instant, almost like lightning; nor was it to be extinguished by rain, which it would lick up if it was a trench full. The Jews speak of many wonders that were continually acted at the temple, as that no flies infested the place, though there was so much slaughtering of beasts; and that the smoke of the altar always went up straight, and was never blown aside with the wind. And this perhaps is no rabbinical fancy, but consistent with reason and the nature of things; for who would have been able in summer to have stood in the court near the altar, where there was so much bloodshed and flesh stirring, if the slaughter-place there had been troubled with stink, flies, and wasps, as our common slaughter-houses are? And how smoky and reeky a place would the temple, and all the apartments about it, have been; and how would those who attended the

1 Kings xviii. 38.

BOOK III.

service have been choked and stifled, and no man able to have stayed in the court, if the smoke from off the altar had been blown up and down with every puff of wind, as we ordinarily see smoke to be? So that for the prevention of such inconveniences as these, which would have made the service intolerable and inaccessible, we cannot but acknowledge a constant and wonderful providence and dispensation; and in the particular before mentioned, that multitudes of sacrifices, such as were especially at the three festivals, should be dispatched by the fire within the time allotted for the offering of such sacrifices, is rather to be ascribed to miracle than any thing else. This altar is properly called *Ariel, the lion of the Lord*, being of a fierce, devouring nature.

The brasen sea was an admirable piece of art and workmanship: it was surprising that so vast a vessel should be cast, and perhaps more that it should be removed from the plain of Jordan, where it was molten, into the inward court of the temple. Being brought thither it was set upon twelve oxen, three of which looked to each quarter of the world; and, it is supposed, were made by Solomon, in contempt of the golden calf worshipped by the Israelites in the wilderness, and placed under this vessel, that the people might see there was nothing worthy of adoration in these figures. Josephus indeed imagines that Solomon offended God by making these images; but this is confuted by the glory of the Lord filling the temple after it was finished. It was placed at the east end of the court of the priests, towards the north-east corner. Its extent and dimensions are thus expressed: it was ten cubits from

1 Kings vii. 23, 26.

CHAP. XII.

the one brim to the other, five cubits in height, and thirty cubits in circumference, and contained, say the Jews, of liquid two thousand baths; but of dry things that would lie heaped above the brim, it would hold three. In the brim of it, it was perfectly round, and so it continued in the two upper cubits; but below the brim, in the three lower cubits, it was square. It was a handbreadth thick, and the brim was wrought like the brim of a cup, with flowers of lilies. About the body of this huge vessel there were two borders of engravings, the work of which are called oxen, not in their full proportion, but the heads only, and the rest in an oval instead of the body; and it is conceived by some, that out of these heads, or out of some of them, the water issued forth, they being made as cocks and conveyances for that purpose. This molten sea was designed for the priests washing themselves before they went about the service. Their washing was twofold, either of their hands and feet, or of their whole bodies; and this vessel served for both uses, but in a different manner. Their hands and feet they washed in the water that ran out by some cocks and spouts of it; but to wash or bathe their bodies they went down into the vessel itself. Now had it been always full of water to the brim, it would have been too deep for them to stand in, and they would have been in danger of drowning; therefore there was such a gage set by cocks or pipes running out continually, that the water was kept at such a height as should serve for their purpose abundantly, and yet should not endanger their persons; and it may properly enough be said, that the water it had constantly in it was two thousand

2 Chron. iv. 5.

BOOK III.

baths, which served for washing; and that it would hold three thousand baths, were it filled up to the brim. The supply of water into this vessel was through a pipe out of the well Etam; though some are of opinion that it was constantly supplied with water by the Gibeonites.

It is not of much importance to inquire whether the laver made by Moses in the wilderness escaped the fate of time, and survived to be set up in the first temple, as many of the Jews assert. But were it not, Solomon made sufficient provision in that case, and to that end for which the laver was ordained: and as in other particulars of the temple, that prince did not only consult for use and convenience, but also for state and grandeur; so in this provision for water, he not only took care for abundance, but provided with that cost and magnificence that is not to be paralleled; for I believe that neither history, nor any founder's art, did or will ever shew such masterpieces of workmanship in that skill, and in that metal, as were his molten sea, and his lavers, that are now to be described.

1 Kings vii. 27, 28, &c.

The lavers of Solomon, ten in number, all of one mould, size, and fashion, were made for washing the parts of the sacrifices that were to be washed, as the sea was for the bathing of the priests. Their situation was five on either side of the court, over against the altar and place of slaughtering, as evenly and conveniently as they could be set. Their fashion was thus: first, there was a flat piece of brass, of a very great size for length, breadth, and thickness, supported by four wheels, four cubits in breadth, and the same in length: the height, as it stood supporting the laver, was three cubits from the ground,

that the priests might more easily reach to wash the sacrifices; and in thickness it was a cubit and a half. This piece of brass is called a *base*, and was square, and on every side of the square was a wheel, upon the axletree of which it rested. Round about this square was a border, which consisted of certain pieces of brass of an oblong square; the length of each of their four sides extended almost to four cubits, being joined near to the outmost edge of the horizontal plane of the great base, almost of the same length with it. Their breadth was but of half a cubit, or thereabouts, standing upright or perpendicular to the flat base, making a right angle at the bottom with the base, in a perfect square figure on all the four sides round about. This brasen border, for its more curious ornament and beauty, was engraven with the representation of lions, oxen, cherubims, and palm-trees; and under the border on every side stood a wheel.

On both sides of this upright brasen border, insisting perpendicularly upon the plane of the flat base beneath, there stood, in two orderly rows, little upright brasen columns, or bars, which in our translation are called *ledges:* one row stood upon the very edge of the base round about, and the other stood a very little more inward upon it, and they were molten of the same piece with it. Their fashion may be conceived to resemble the round turned rails of a balcony, which if we imagine to be double railed, with a thin upright board let down between them, may possibly give a true apprehension of the form of these ledges with their borders, as our version expresses it. The height of these ledges, or more properly bars, of brass, standing upright in

BOOK III. two rows, and having between them the border above mentioned, was about half a cubit, erected above the even surface of the vast bases beneath.

Upon the top of these ledges, or bars, standing thus upright, there was another flat piece of brass provided, and being laid horizontally, rested upon these ledges or borders. It is called *the base above*, and was lesser by much in all its dimensions than the inferior grand base, over which it lay fixed upon the brasen pillars parallel to it at the distance of half a cubit. This upper rest or base was gathered into a circle or coronet of a cubit and a half over, and is called by us a *chapiter;* and about this circular edge, as near as it would bear a square, a square bordering was set, engraven with oxen, lions, and palm-trees; and so the bottom of the laver being set in this coronet, it stood raised two degrees or ascents of borderings above the base. This border above the coronet was a cubit high, and the bottom of the laver for that height was but of the breadth of a cubit and a half over; but then it flowed over, and dilated itself so, as that it lay over the upper bordering, and that it sat upon and over the lower bordering and the staves, and came out even with the edges of the base; and this spreading of it out is called its *mouth:* and so we may observe, that the laver was round in the bottom, and square in the top. And at the four corners of the base, with which the four corners of the laver pointed and flowered even, there were square brasen pillars, molten with the base itself, and of one piece with it, the feet of which stood upon the ground, and their heads stood under the points of the laver, to bear it up and to keep it steady. These

pillars are called *shoulders*, and they are said to be at the side of every one of the sloping shelves, because at their joining to the base these shelves joined to it also; and at every corner of it these shelves were jointed to these pillars, and their ends rested upon them. Now the feet of these pillars stood not upon the very ground; but there was a square of brasen planks cast also with the rest, which lay on the ground, upon which these pillars and the wheels stood. The wheels did not stand two and two on a side, as our coach or waggon wheels do; but as the base was square, so there was a wheel on every side of the square. These wheels are said to be a cubit and a half high, which is not to be understood of the full height of the ring of the wheel, but of the height from the ground to the axletree upon which the grand base rested.

To understand what is meant by the *sloping shelves* above mentioned, it must be observed, that at the foot of the ledges and border, that is, upon the very edge of the base outward, there were large shelves of brass laid round about, not level, as our shelves that we set any thing upon that stand against a wall, but sloping and descending, much after the manner as weather-boards are laid over windows to put off the rains. They are called in our translation *additions made of thin work;* and the use of them was, that upon them the priests might wash what they had to wash, and the filth, by reason of the slopeness of the shelves or benches, might still run off. For the parts of the sacrifice were not washed in the laver itself, but in water running out of the laver in cocks and spouts, which ran upon these benches or shelves; and they cast the

BOOK III.

water both from off the edges of the base and from off the wheels, which stood under them as under a covert.

The laver or caldron was fixed upon the upper border of brass, and the bottom of it rested upon the grand massy base underneath, within the lower border that was railed in with the brasen pillars above mentioned. There were ten of these ponderous utensils, and each laver contained ten barrels of water; it was four cubits in diameter, and in compass twelve. The description of this vessel perhaps may not be exact; for it is generally confessed by such as have inquired into this subject, that though the text be very copious in explaining the form of these lavers, yet there is no vessel, great or small, whose dimensions remain so intricate and abstruse throughout the whole scriptures. When these vessels were cast, there were other utensils made of an inferior note, all of bright brass; as shovels to cleanse the altar, basons to receive the blood of the sacrifices, pots or caldrons to boil the flesh, flesh-hooks to take the meat out of the pots, platters to put it on, and many others for the service of the sanctuary, which, as they are not all mentioned, at least not described in scripture, will not be considered in this place.

Such was the furniture that stood in the inner court, or court of the priests; which was likewise adorned with a wall, consisting of three rows of hewn stones, and a row of cedar beams, with porches or cloisters beneath, and chambers above. These rooms served for the conveniences of the priests.

The gates that led into this court were, first, the east gate, which stood in the front, and was the

way directly to the temple. It was magnificently rebuilt, or repaired, by king Jotham, and is called, as some conceive, *the high gate of the house of the Lord.* This likewise had the name of *the new gate.* Its passage was kept by the fathers of the Levites, who had there a chamber where the sanhedrim sat in council.

2 Kings xv. 35. 2 Chron. xxvii. 3. Jer. xxvi. 10. xxxvi. 10. 2 Chron. ix. 4.

In the south wall there are but two gates recorded in scripture: *the high gate of Benjamin,* so called because it stood in the lot and territory of that tribe, as the temple with the altar fully did; *the lower gate of Benjamin,* which stood in the south wall over against the altar.

Jer. xx. 2.

On the west side of the temple, and in the western wall of this inner court, there was no gate at all.

On the north there were two gates, in their position exactly correspondent to the southern. The upper north gate opened upon the body of the temple, and is called *the gate of the Lord's house towards the north. The gate of the altar,* so called because it was right against the altar, and opposite to the lower gate of Benjamin. These are all the gates that opened into the court of the priests, that I find mentioned in scripture under the first temple.

Ezek. viii. 3, 5, 14.

This inward court was enclosed with an outer, called *the great court,* which likewise had cloisters within and chambers above, where the Levites and the porters lodged, and wherein the ministerial implements were laid, and fine flour, salt, wine, oil, frankincense, and other necessaries were disposed for the service of the sanctuary. Within this court, according to some, was erected the brasen scaffold, five cubits long, five broad, and three high, which

2 Chron. iv. 9.

2 Chron. vi. 13.

BOOK III. Solomon kneeled upon at his solemn dedication of the temple. And here likewise was a throne made for the kings of Judah, which stood by a marble pillar at the entrance into the court of the priests, where the king sat when he came to the temple to divine worship. But the more probable opinion is, that this brasen scaffold, and the king's throne, stood within the east gate of the inner court, by one of the pillars that bore up the cloister.

2 Kings xxiii. 3.

2 Chron. iv. 9, 14, 17. As for the gates of this outward court, we read that the doors, or folding leaves, were overlaid with brass; but their situation we are to collect from the porters that were assigned to keep watch at them. There was an east gate, at which six Levites were appointed to watch. Some think this was called *the king's gate;* not that the king went in that way, but because Solomon built it in a more extraordinary manner than the rest. The north gate, at which four Levites were placed for the daily watch. The south gate, at which four Levites were appointed for a guard. The west gate, called *Shallecheth*, from *casting up;* because here Solomon cast up a famous causeway, to pass from his own house over the valley into the mountain of the temple. Here also were four Levites placed for a watch. Now because this gate was open only to the king and his family, and because a great part of the city lay on the west side of the temple, we read of other gates in this western wall; as, first, the gates of Asuppim, which were two small ones, and each had two Levites for a guard; they stood at the southernmost end of the western wall, together with a treasury, called *the house of Asuppim*, lying between them. Lastly, there was the Parbar gate, which is

1 Chron. xxvi. 17.

1 Chron. xxvi. 15. 18.

expressly fixed westward, and two Levites were the constant watch. So that we perceive in this outward wall, there were four cardinal gates to the four winds, and three lesser ones towards the west besides, seven in all. There were twenty-four Levites in their constant order watching at these gates, according to the lot of their fathers' houses, and the regular division of their courses, by which they were obliged to attend.

Thus have I taken a short survey of this magnificent fabric, the temple of Solomon, exceeding curious and splendid in its workmanship and ornaments, and in its overlayings vast and prodigious, with all the buildings and utensils belonging to it; which, how imperfect soever, I am persuaded, conforms in a great measure with the revelation of scripture; and though not so accurate as could be desired, (as all men of learning have confessed the subject to be difficult,) is yet sufficient to give us the most sublime conceptions of that sacred structure, of the immense riches and grandeur of the prince who built it, and, above all, of the majesty of the Deity whose service was to be performed in it. The defects in this description, perhaps, will be supplied to some satisfaction from the account that is to follow of the second temple, extracted chiefly from the rabbinical writers of the Jewish nation.

This temple (as was before observed) was about seven years and a half in building; and they were a year within a month ridding away the rubbish; and then was it dedicated to divine use by a most solemn and pompous rite of consecration. For this purpose Solomon assembled the elders, the heads of the tribes, and the chief of the fathers of Israel,

2 Chron. v. 2. 1 Kings viii. 6.

BOOK III.

and a mighty congregation of the whole nation, from the entering in of Hamath to the river of Egypt. Then he hallowed or set apart the middle of the inner court, and there erected an altar for the present occasion; because it was impossible that the brasen altar should be sufficient to consume the infinite number of sacrifices that were to be slain and offered upon this solemnity: though some of the Jews imagine that he burnt the sacrifices upon the very pavement; and others fancy that he set up the altar of Moses by his own, and offered upon it.

2 Chron. vii. 7.

1 Kings viii. 3, 4.

The elders of Israel being assembled waited upon the king at Mount Zion, where the ark of the covenant yet resided, which the priests took up and bore upon their shoulders. The Levites in the mean time, according to their several offices, carried the tabernacle of boards and curtains wherein the ark stood, with all the holy vessels made by Moses. Thus in a pompous procession they walked slowly from the city of David, and the ark being brought up to the sacred mountain of Moriah, the king and all the congregation sacrificed before it sheep and oxen without number. Then the priests conveyed the ark of the covenant into the oracle, or most holy place, and set it under the wings of the golden cherubims; which being done, and the priests returned out of that mysterious place, a hundred and twenty of them with silver trumpets sounded in the court; and near them the singers, Asaph, Heman the grandson of Samuel, and Jeduthun, with their sons and brethren clothed in white linen, and furnished with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, lift up their voices, and sung, *For he is good, for his mercy endureth for*

2 Chron. v. 2, &c.

ever. While this admirable concert of vocal, pneumatical, and organical music sounded through the temple, its courts, and the neighbouring city, a cloud of glory filled the house, which shone with that lustre that the priests were unable to stand to minister.

2 Chron. vi. 12, 13.

Immediately upon this, Solomon stood upon the brasen scaffold before the altar, and looking towards the cloud of glory, thus addressed the divine Majesty: *The Lord hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness; but I have built an house of habitation for thee, and a place for thy dwelling for ever.* Then the king turns his face to the people as they stood, makes a short, but elegant oration, and gives them his royal blessing. After this he turns his face west, towards the temple and the altar, directing his eyes steadfastly towards the divine glory, and falling devoutly upon his knees, and spreading out his hands towards heaven, he prays long and in the most sublime manner before the majesty of God, riding upon the chariot of the cherubims. When he had ended his devotion a miraculous fire descends, which consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices, while the glory of the Lord filled the house with such divine splendour that the priests were not able to enter. When the Israelites saw the fire, and the glory of God upon the house, they bowed with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, worshipped and praised with one voice; saying, *For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* Then the king offered his magnificent sacrifice to the Lord, of two hundred and twenty thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep, which was repeated for seven days;

BOOK III. and then ended the solemn ceremony of dedication.

But this temple, notwithstanding the strength and dignity of the building, and that it enjoyed a speciality of the divine presence; yet being but an earthly fabric, was subject to change, to decay, and at last to a final dissolution; and it is believed that no public structure of such state and magnificence ever admitted of more alterations than this: and there was scarce a reign of one king, during its continuance, in which it did not receive some remarkable change or abuse. In the time of Solomon, who built it, it was so vilely affronted as to have an idolatrous temple erected in the very face of it; and what was the state of religion in such times may be shrewdly suspected. In the reign of Rehoboam, it was first forsaken by the ten tribes, and afterwards by Judah itself, who fell to idolatry; and then it was spoiled by Shishak. How often its treasuries were plundered, sometimes by foreigners, sometimes by their own kings; how often profaned, as by Athaliah, Ahaz, Manasseh; how the service of it either totally slighted, or slightly performed; how idols were set up in it, and altars to strange gods; how the blood of the high priest shed, the manners of the priests corrupt, and the house of prayer made a den of thieves: as also, how sometimes again it was repaired, the service restored, and the priests reformed, is so copiously described in the books of scripture, that it were but a transcription of the text to be particular upon these subjects. At last it had run out its date; it was fired, and all the sacred vessels were captived by the Babylonians, after it had stood,

from its first foundation, about four hundred and twenty years. CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XIII.

The second temple; its courts, dimensions, &c. described chiefly from the rabbinical writings. The mountain of the house, the first wall, and buildings within it.

THOUGH between the return from the captivity, and the final desolation of Jerusalem, there might seem to be strictly two temples, that of Zorobabel and that of Herod, (for that prince began his temple from the very foundation,) yet the scriptures and the Jewish writers so generally allow them for one temple, that it would be an insignificant and unwarrantable curiosity to admit of any other notion or distinction of it: for though the temple built by Zorobabel was pulled down by Herod to the very ground, when he erected that fabric that stood to the last fate of Jerusalem; yet since what he did was to repair, rather than to ruin and destroy, there is no reason to reckon these as two several temples, but as one first built, then raised and repaired in a more glorious and magnificent manner.

This second temple was erected upon the same spot of ground with the first, upon Moriah, a mountain rocky and steep, which fell in the division of the land, part of it in one tribe, and part in another. The greatest part of the courts stood in the lot of Judah; but the altar, the porch, the temple, and the most holy place, were in the portion of Benjamin. The part within the tribe of Judah was made hollow upon arches, not only that the filth and the wash of the courts might be conveyed away,

BOOK III. but that there might be no graves made privately in the courts, whereby the people might be defiled; for it was impossible to bury above the arches for want of soil; and if it was possible to bury below, it was so deep that no defilement could be contracted from it. The compass of the floor of this mountain was increased (though not much) by the industry of the Hebrew kings, by filling up the valley and the precipice where any want was, occasioned by the pinching in of the hill; so that under the second temple the compass and space of it was a perfect square of five hundred cubits on every side; and this square piece of ground was enclosed with a wall; not but that there was more space upon the floor of the mount than barely this measure; but so much only was accounted for holy ground. The wall that surrounded this square of holy ground was built of fair stone, and was five and twenty cubits high; only the part of the wall that was over the east gate, hereafter mentioned, was no more than six cubits in height. The reason it was no higher was, because the priest that was sprinkling the blood of the red cow, upon mount Olivet, was to look directly by this east gate upon the gate of the temple; and since the floor of the porch of the temple was two and twenty cubits higher ground than the floor of this east gate, and consequently the priests looking from Olivet through this gate could not see above the eighth step before the porch, therefore it was proper that the wall over the east gate should be low, that what he could not discover through the gate he might see over it.

There were many gates in this wall, which will be hereafter described; only it is to be observed in

this place in the general, that the height of the whole gatehouse of every gate, or of the pile where the gate was set, was thirty cubits, and so it rose five cubits above the wall; but the very entrance of the gate, or the door of it, was but twenty cubits high; and so the very breadth of the entrance of the doors of every gate was but ten cubits; but the cheeks of the gate on either side was two cubits and a half; and so the breadth of the whole pile was fifteen cubits in all. The height of the east gate only came short of the rest four cubits; for it rose but six cubits above the entry or light that was passed through, whereas the rest advanced ten; and so it rose but one cubit above the height of all the wall, whereas the rest did five. The reason is already given in the paragraph before.

The east gate of the mountain of the house, called *the gate of Shushan*, did not stand in the middle of the eastern wall, as if it had two hundred forty-five cubits of the wall on either side it; but it stood more toward the north, because it was to open directly in the front, or over-against the porch of the temple. Now the altar being fixed so by divine appointment, that the mountain did not allow an equal space of ground on either side it, they were forced to build the temple so as to stand in its proper parallel with the altar, and to cast the courts so, that the greatest space of the mount lay on the south, the second on the east, the third on the north, and the least westward. Upon this gate was pictured a figure of the city Shushan, the royal seat of the Persian monarchy, in remembrance of the captivity of the Israelites under that empire. It was likewise called *the king's gate;* not because it was the en-

1 Chron. ix. 18.

BOOK III.

trance of the king through it, (for he came in always on the west side,) but because Solomon built it, and the rest of the wall that way, at an extraordinary expense, rising the foundation with great stones from the bottom of the deep valley that lay beneath. All the gates of this outward wall were beautified with fair buildings on either side them, but especially this eastern gate, which was the most common entrance into the temple.

Upon the side of the wall that looked southward there were two gates, called *the gates of Huldah.* It is difficult to determine from whence they obtained their name. The Jews say, they were so called from Huldah the prophetess, of whom honourable mention is made in their writings; insomuch that never was any man or woman buried within the walls of Jerusalem, (unless of the house of David,) but only she. On this south side was kept the market of sheep and oxen and doves, resented by our Saviour; for all within the compass of holy ground was often, in the general, called *the temple.*

Antiq. lib. xv. c. 14.

There were four gates in the west. Upon the west quarter of this outward wall (says Josephus) there were four gates; the first leading to the king's palace, the valley between being filled up for the passage; two others went into the suburbs, and the other into the other city, having many steps down into the valley, and many up again to the pitch, or coming up. The gate that led to the royal palace stood most north in this west quarter of all the four, being directly and diametrically opposite to the gate Shushan in the east. Under the first temple this gate was called *Shallecheth,* or *casting*

1 Chron. xxvi. 16. 18.

up, from the famous causeway that was cast up, and led to it from the king's palace, this being his ordinary way to the temple. This causeway was set on either side with oaks and teil trees, as well to bind and secure the borders of the walk, as to afford a pleasant and shady ascent to the king, when he went up to worship. In the time of the temple built by Herod this gate was called *Coponius*, from Coponius, who was sent by Augustus with Cyrenius into Syria, as general of the horse. On the west, the next was the gate *Parbar*, so called from Parvar, which signifies *suburbs;* for this gate led into the suburbs of Sion. The other two gates on this side are called *Asuppim*, which signifies *gatherings;* for near them was the treasury where the collections of the people were laid up. Between these gates in this western wall, which stood most south, was the house of Asuppim, which was a large pile of building, consisting of many rooms, and used as a treasury for the use of the temple.

It may be observed in this place, that the treasuries of the temple were divers, and in many places; but the general distinction of them is into *treasuries of the house of God* and *the treasuries of the dedicate things*. By the first are meant such things as were in ordinary use and employment; as the vessels, vestments, tithes, wine, oil, and other common necessaries: and with these we may join whatever was offered to the treasury, either as due, as was the half shekel; or voluntary, as money or vessels for the repair of the house, and advancement of the service. By *the treasury of dedicate things* is understood whatever the kings, captains, or great men consecrated and dedicated, which lay as the stock of

1 Chron. xxvi. 20.

BOOK III.

the temple, and as the monuments of their devotion. The former treasures were some of them under the care and charge of the porters, and the rest, and the latter, under the hand of other Levites. The porters had their treasuries at every one of their gates, where they kept the vestments and other accommodations; but the sons of Obed Edom had the charge of the silver and gold vessels, which were the richest utensils of the temple; and therefore their gates, and the buildings between, are called *Asuppim*, or treasuries, by an emphatical dignity above the rest.

Upon the north side there was but one gate in this outward wall, which was situated in the middle of the wall between the east and the west end of it. It was called *Tedi*, or *Tadde*, which denotes *obscurity* or *shamefacedness;* because the priests, whose seed went from them by night, went through this gate with shame and dejectedness to bathe and purify themselves from that uncleanness. It had not so fair a rising gatehouse and chamber as the rest had, but only stones laid flat over it, and the battlement of the walling running upon it, and no more. Nor was it a common and ordinary passage in and out; because there was an insolent garrison placed near it by the Romans, which discouraged people from coming that way.

On this side, without the wall, there was a space of ground upon the mountain; but upon every one of the other sides the wall stood near upon the very pitch and precipice of the hill. On this space, without the compass of holy ground, stood the tower of Antonia, once the place where the pontifical vestments were laid up; and then it was called *Baris*, (because, perhaps, it was an outer building,) but

afterwards a garrison of Roman soldiers, and had the name of *Antonia*, so called by Herod, who repaired it in honour of Marc Antony. It stood upon the north-west point of Moriah, and was a strong pile, and so large that the building and its appurtenances took up in compass two furlongs. The rock it stood upon was fifty cubits high, and steep, and the fabric itself was forty cubits above it. It was four-square, surrounded with a wall of three cubits high, which enclosed its courts, and had a turret at every corner, like the white tower of London: but it was more spacious, and the turrets were not of an equal height; for those at the north-east and north-west corners were fifty cubits high; but those on the south-east and south-west were seventy cubits high, that they might fully overlook the temple. It had cloisters or walks about it, and baths and lodgings and large rooms in it, and was at once like a castle and a palace. There was a passage out of it into the north and west cloisters of the mountain of the house, by which the Roman soldiers of the garrison went down at the Jewish festivals to prevent tumults and seditions in those great concourses of the people. And the governor of this tower was called *the captain of the temple.* Acts iv. 1.

Along this wall within were walks or cloisters between gate and gate round about. The roof or floor over head was almost as high as the top of the wall, save what was left for the battlements, and was supported by a treble row of marble pillars, (the inmost row joining to the wall,) and it was divided by the middle row of pillars into a double walk. This cloister was in height twelve yards and a half. It was thirty cubits, or fifteen yards, broad in the

BOOK III.

whole; and either walk was half that breadth, pillars and all. It had battlements above the leads, both at the wall and on the other side. Where the buildings stood out into the mountain of the house (as those on the sides of the gates did) these cloisters were accordingly contrived, being either cut off at the building, if it stood thirty cubits out; or the one half or more of the cloister was cut off, if the building was narrower, and the rest of the cloister carried on before it.

Upon the south side of the square there was some difference of the walks, or cloister, from what was in the other parts; for here was *the cloister royal*, as Josephus calls it, and of which he gives a large and eminent description to this purpose: that it was treble rowed, or walked, all along from east to west, whereas the cloisters on any of the other sides were but double. This whole frame was borne up by four rows of pillars, that stood even one against another, the inmost row joining to the wall, as it was on the other sides. The inmost and outmost walk of these three were equal in height and breadth with the walks or piazzas on any of the other sides, that is, fifteen cubits high, and fifteen cubits broad each; but the middle walk was two and forty cubits and a half broad, and fifty cubits high; and so the two rows of pillars that stood on either side this middle walk were fifty cubits high; and these altogether were as the upper and lower leads of a church, and every one of them had a crest or battlement round about. The whole fabric, says the same author, was so magnificent, that it is incredible to those that never saw it, and an amazement to those that did.

Antiq. lib. xv. c. 4.

But though this cloister on the south side was

justly called *the cloister royal;* yet it is not to be understood as the same with what is called in scripture *Solomon's porch;* for that, as Josephus intimates, was upon the east side of this square. The people, says he, persuaded king Agrippa (the second) to repair the east porch or cloister. Now this cloister was in the outmost space of the temple, standing over an exceeding deep valley, raised upon a wall of four hundred cubits, which was made of square white stones twenty cubits long, and six cubits high apiece: the work of king Solomon, who first built the temple. He explains himself in another place, by observing, that Solomon, to find room enough this way toward the east, was obliged to fill and bring up a part of the deep trench with such great stones: and upon this strong foundation, so raised from the bottom of the valley, he built this porch or cloister just mentioned. This wonderful foundation was not ruined when the temple was destroyed by the Babylonians; and in after-times the porch or cloister of that eastern quarter was built upon the same foundation of Solomon's, and from thence obtained the name of *Solomon's porch.* This stately piazza round about served to defend the people from the severity of the weather, and to walk or sit under; and by the walls all round there were benches set for that purpose. In the lower rooms of the buildings, on either side of the eastern gate, or the gate Shushan, were shops, where wine, oil, salt, meal, and such things that were in constant use for the service of the temple, were publicly sold. And there were clerks of the market appointed to look to the weights and measures, and to see that the shopkeepers did not sell too dear. The

Antiq. lib. xx. cap 8.

De Bell. lib. v. cap. 14.

BOOK III. rooms over head were employed to some other use; and, among the rest, one for the sitting of the great sanhedrim, when they removed from Gazith, and when they sat in Gazith, for a court of twenty-three. But this has been observed before.

CHAP. XIV.

The courts of the temple. The chel. The court of the women.

THERE were three which we may call courts belonging to the temple, besides that space in the mountain of the house which was enclosed with this surrounding wall, and is commonly called by Christian writers *the court of the Gentiles;* and these three were the chel, the court of the women, and the court of Israel, and the priests', though the two latter were properly and ordinarily called *courts.* The Hebrew expositors define the chel to be a space of ten cubits broad, encompassed with a wall between the mountain of the house and the courts, and may justly enough be called *the enclosure* or *outer verge of the courts.* The rising from the mountain of the house, which was level into the chel, was by twelve steps, or six cubits; (for every step was half a cubit rise;) and the chel being ten cubits broad, it was level to the wall of the court of the women. The wall by which the chel was enclosed was not so high as were the other walls about the temple, and was no more than bars before the higher wall of the court, of three cubits high, that were curiously wrought into lattices, or such open work, that the people might see through it or over it. The pas-

sages into the chel through this wall were many, one before every gate that went into either of the courts; and on either side the passage was a pillar, on which it was written in Greek and Latin, that no stranger was to enter into that place, but beware of coming upon holy ground. When the Jews were subject to the Syro-Grecian kings, this bar against strangers was scornfully broken through in thirteen places; but the Jews made up the breaches again, and ordered that thirteen prayers should be offered against the heathen kingdoms, if a stranger presumed to approach to any of the places where the breaches had been.

The courts of the temple, it was said, were properly but two; the court of Israel, and the court of the women: for though there was a distinction between the court of Israel and the court of the priests, as, that the one was not the other, and they that came into the one might not come into the other; yet the one was so within the other, and the partition between the one and the other so small, and but one boundary enclosed them both, that they were indeed not so very properly two courts, as two several places for the priests and for the Israelites to stand in in one court. But the court of Israel and the court of the women were so truly and evidently two different courts, that they lay one before the other, and were divided one from another by a very high wall.

The entering into the court of the women (called also *the new court*, *the outer court*, and *the treasury*) was by three gates; one on the east, one on the north, and one on the south; and there was a fourth on the west, which went up out of this court

BOOK III. into the court of Israel. All these gates, except one, both posts and lintels, were gilt with gold. The eastern gate was the most magnificent, in which you landed by five steps out of the chel. It was called *the beautiful gate of the temple*, called by Josephus, *the Corinthian gate;* for the posts and lintel and all were overlaid with Corinthian brass. At this gate began what is called *the inner temple*, the space without this gate to the boundary wall being styled *the outer temple;* and it was all in general, within the compass of holy ground, called often *the temple*. This court lay at the east end of the court of Israel, and was parted from it by a high wall; so that whoever came to worship here could see nothing of the service in the other court, and indeed hear but little, unless they went up the steps of the gate, and looked in; for till you came to the middle of the entrance of the gate that went up into the upper court, it was but of the same holiness with the court of the women; but beyond the middle it was holier. The floor of this court was even and level throughout, and it was a perfect square of a hundred thirty-five cubits long, and so many broad, and it was curiously flagged with marble, as indeed was all the space, both courts, chel, and the other space that encompassed the holy ground.

In each corner of this court was a chamber. In
Numb. vi. the south-east corner was a room for the Nazarites, where they boiled their peace offerings, polled their hair, and put it under the pot, according to the law. The north-east room was the wood-house, where the priests that had blemishes wormed the wood for the altar. In the north-west room the lepers bathed themselves. The south-west room was called *the*

house of the oil; for there the wine and oil were laid up, which were so constantly used by the appointment of the law in meat and drink offerings. Such was the platform of the court of the women: it was a perfect square. In the midst of every one of the walls of it was a gate. In every corner of it was a chamber, or, as some conceive, many chambers, that were built round a quadrangle that was within; in which were boiling ranges to boil the sacrifices of the people.

At first there were no cloisters between these buildings and the gates, but the men and women stood promiscuously together. But this was found to occasion lightness and irreverence; and therefore cloisters were made, and balconies or galleries within the cloisters upon three sides, east, north, and south; so that the women stood in the balconies, and the men in the court below: not that there were any cloisters supported by pillars in this court under the second temple built by Zorobabel; there were no more than balconies that came out of the wall, and were roofed overhead. But it was cloistered by Herod with great magnificence, but not equal with the cloisters of the mountain of the house already surveyed; for that was a double cloister all about, and treble on the south; but this (as well as the cloister of the court of Israel) was no more than single every way. In this the cloister of the court of the women differed from both the others, that it had a gallery made in it, where the women stood to look down into the court; whereas the others had no interposition, but were uninterrupted to the roof. This court was the place where men and women did commonly worship, who either came to

BOOK III.

pray at other times than at the hours of prayer, or who came at the regular hours, and brought no sacrifice with them. The other uses to which it served will be explained hereafter.

Because this court of the women was of free access, whither all manner of persons, that were Israelites, might resort; therefore here were the treasure chests placed, where the people put in their offerings. They stood before the cloisters, some here, and some there, on the several sides of the court. There were thirteen of them, called *trumpets* by the Jews; because they were wide in the bottom and narrow in the top, that the money put in might not easily be got out.

Exod. xxx. 13.

Two of these chests received the half shekel which the law enjoined every Israelite to pay for the redemption of his life; the one for the payment of the last year, (if he had missed to pay at the due time,) and the other for the half shekel for the year present. On the first day of the month Adar (which answers in part to our February) public notice was given through the country, that they should provide to pay their half shekel; and on the fifteenth of that month the collectors sat in every city to gather it. They had two chests before them, (as were at the temple,) and they demanded the payment calmly and without compulsion. On the five and twentieth day of the month the collectors began to sit in the temple, and then they used roughness, and obliged them to pay; and if any were unable, they would take his pawn, and sometimes his very clothes by force. They had a table before them to count and change the money upon, and two chests to put it into. A man that brought a shekel to change was

to have half a shekel again, and the collector was to have some profit upon the change. This addition of profit is called *kolbon*, (κόλλυβος,) and it was never less than the twelfth part of a *denarius*. If two came together, and paid a shekel for them both, yet the receiver would have his fee from both. And therefore our Saviour, in his zeal, overthrew the tables of these colbonists, or money-changers, whose avarice and extortion he justly abhorred. John ii. 15.

These two treasure chests were in use but for a certain time every year; but the other eleven were of constant service, that stood in their places all the year long; and upon every one of them were written what use and employments they were put to.

One was for them that were to offer two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, the one for a burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering: they cast their price into this chest.

A second was for them who were to offer a burnt offering of birds only.

A third. Whoever offered to buy wood for the altar put his money into that chest.

A fourth, whoever offered money to buy frankincense.

A fifth, whoever would offer gold for the mercy-seat.

A sixth was for the residue of a sin offering; that is, if a man had set apart a sum of money for a sin offering, and it bought a sin offering, and there was to spare, the remainder was put into this chest.

A seventh, for the residue of a trespass offering.

An eighth, for the residue of an offering of birds, of men and women that had issues, and of women after childbirth.

BOOK III.

A ninth, for the residue of a Nazarite's offering.

A tenth, for the residue of a leper's trespass offering.

The eleventh, for whoever would willingly offer a sacrifice of the herd: the money that was to buy it was cast into this chest.

These chests stood constantly in the temple, and had every one its title written upon it, that any one that would offer these things mentioned, knew readily where to go by these directions, and to put the money of his offering. They are called *treasuries*, and were set before the pillars that supported the cloisters toward the court; as if they were placed in the quadrangle before the pillars that bear up the cloister-walks in the royal exchange.

The court of the women was parted from the court of Israel by a high wall of thirty-two cubits and a half high from the floor of the court of the women, but of no more than twenty-five cubits high from the floor of the court of Israel itself; for so much higher was the ground in that court than the other. In the middle of this wall was the east gate, that conveyed out of the one court into the other; to which gate there was a rising of fifteen steps, that were not laid in a square, but in a semicircle. The reason of this was to gain the more room on either side of them; for on either side of the gate, and of the steps, were chambers in the wall under ground, whose floor was even with the floor of the court of Israel, the doors opening into the court of the women. In these rooms the Levites laid up their musical instruments when they had done singing in the daily service in the court of Israel. They came down the fifteen steps out of the court, and at the

bottom they stepped off either on the right or the left, and there were doors in the wall which opened into chambers, where their instruments were laid up. Upon these fifteen steps the Levites stood, and sung the fifteen psalms of degrees upon the solemn festivity of the feast of tabernacles.

This gate between the court of the women and the court of Israel is distinguished by several names. It is called *the upper gate* of the Lord's house, *the new gate, the gate of entrance, the middle gate, the gate of Sur*, and *the gate of the foundation;* but in the temple of Herod it was commonly known by the name of *the gate of Nicanor*. The reason of this name is thus accounted for by the author of Juchasin: Nicanor was one of the Chasidim, or religious, and he went to Alexandria in Egypt, and made there two brasen doors with great curiosity, intending to set them up in the court of the temple; and he brought them away by sea. Now a great storm arising, the mariners cast one of the doors overboard to lighten the ship, and intended to throw over the other also; which when Nicanor perceived, he bound himself to the door with cords, and told them that if they threw that in, they should throw him in too; and so the sea ceased from raging. And when he landed at Ptolemais, and lamented the loss of his other door, he prayed to God about it, and the sea cast up the door in the place where the holy man had landed: but some say a great fish cast it up. And this was the miracle that was done about his doors; and they set them up on the east side of the court before the temple. This must be a rabbinical fable. It is much more likely the gate had its name from Seleucus Nicanor, the first king

2 Kings xv. 35. 2 Chron. xxvii. 3. Jerem. xxvi. 10. xxxvi. 10. Ezek. xl. 15. 2 Kings xi. 6. 2 Chron. xxiii. 5. Juchasin, fol 65.

BOOK III.

of Syria, who was a great friend of the Jewish nation. There is a miracle of a brasen gate told by Josephus, perhaps with much better authority, which may well be applied to this gate of Nicanor, whose doors were of brass, though the whole front of the gate besides was all of gold. He is treating of the prodigies and wonders that presaged the destruction of Jerusalem, and among others he relates this: the east gate of the inner temple, being of brass, and extreme heavy, and which could hardly be shut by twenty men, being barred and bolted exceedingly strong and sure, yet was it seen by night to open of its own accord; which by the ignorant and vulgar was esteemed a good omen, as if it denoted that God would open to them the gate of all good things; but those of a deeper judgment suspected that it foreshewed the decay and ruin of the strength of the temple.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 3.

De Bell. lib. vi. cap. 31.

This gate of Nicanor, or the east gate of the court, was the place where the suspected wife was tried by drinking the bitter waters; where the cleansed leper stood to have his atonement made, and to have his cleansing wholly perfected; and where women after childbirth appeared for their full purification. Here (as well as in the gate Shushan) sat a consistory of three and twenty judges; though before the captivity the great sanhedrim sat in these two gates, sometimes in the one, and sometimes in the other, as they thought proper. But when the room Gazith was built, they removed thither; and then each of them was supplied with a court of twenty-three. The common access to the temple was through the east gate of the court of the women, that was constantly open, and so through

the court of the women to the gate of Nicanor, and then into the inner court; but it was a rule not to return through the same gate at which they came in. They that come to the temple, say the Talmudists, go in at the right hand, and fetching a compass, go out of the left; but mourners and excommunicate persons went about still to the left hand.

CHAP. XV.

The court of Israel, or of the priests; its gates and buildings.

NOW are we come within the court of Israel, or of the priests. The gate of Nicanor was the only entrance in the east quarter; nor were there any buildings in the wall on this side, but two, which stood on either side of the gate one. That on your right hand was called *the chamber of Phinehas*, the wardrobe man. This Phinehas is supposed to have been a person of distinguishing note, who provided vestments for the priests when they entered into the service; and when they were old, he took them into his custody, and provided new. He only had the charge of these vestments; for they were bought by the public, and when worn out, returned again, and ravelled into yarn for the lamps, and the great lights at the feast of tabernacles. On the left hand of the gate was the chamber of the pastry man, who provided the high priest's daily meat offering, which is commonly called in the language of the Talmud *the two cakes* of the high priest.

On the south side of this court were three gates: the water gate, which lay eastward; the gate of the

BOOK III.

firstlings, called sometimes *the gate of offering*, which was in the middle; and the gate of kindling, which stood most west. There were likewise in this south wall three other buildings, which were called *the room Gazith, the room of the draw-well*, and *the room of the wood*. At the east corner stood the building Gazith, so called, because it was neatly built with stone. Half of this fabric stood within the court, and half within the chel; and it had a door into either place. In that part within the chel sat the great sanhedrim; for no one but the king was allowed to sit within the verge of the court. In the other part the priests used to cast lots for the distribution of the service.

At the west end of Gazith was the room of the draw-well, so called, because there was a well sunk there, with a wheel over it, from whence they fetched up water for the conveniency of all the court. There was occasion for abundance of water, to fill the lavers, to boil the offerings, to wash the sacrifices, and the court itself, and to fill the cisterns for the priests to bathe in. The place on which the temple was built was very rocky, and without water; but they conveyed it in pipes thither from a place at some distance, where there was a spring head that lay conveniently for such a purpose, which was called *the fountain Etam*, that lay westward of the temple; and the pipes from it came down upon that quarter, and passed along on the south side of the house, and so into the draw-well that was made to receive the water out of them. This well is supposed to have been sunk by the Jews upon their return from Babylon; and the waters from the fountain being gathered into it as

into a cistern, were dispersed from hence into the several offices and places where water was necessary, a wheel being used to force it into the pipes and conveyances that were to carry it into the several receptacles and uses; for in some places there were baths on the very top of the gates and buildings, (as will be observed hereafter,) and to keep them full, a constant supply of water was required, which was forced up by the working and activity of this wheel. Over this well there was a fair building, suitable to the other structures about the court, which had a door into the court, that the priests might readily, and without going about, step out of the court into it, when they had occasion to fetch up water for any use.

At the west end of the draw-well room was the water-gate, that opened directly upon the altar. It was so called, because the water that was poured upon the altar at the feast of tabernacles (which will be hereafter explained) was brought through this gate; and the water for this solemn libation was fetched from the fountain of Siloam, at a great distance, though the draw-well was so near at hand to have supplied it.

Over this gate there was a room called *the chamber of the family of Abhtines*, who was a man of note, and had the care of making the incense; and all that succeeded in this office were called *the family of Abhtines;* and this chamber was the place where they did their work in this employment. Into this room the high priest was brought for a certain time against the day of expiation, that he might be ready in taking his handfuls of incense, as was required against that day. In this room also

BOOK III. was there a guard kept every night by the younger priests: and on the roof of this chamber there was a bath, in which the high priest washed himself for the first time on the day of expiation.

Joining to this water-gate, on the west side of it, there was a building called *the wood-room*, and styled sometimes *the room Parhedrin*. Into the wood-room the blemished priests brought the wood that they had wormed, and found fit for the altar, that it might be near and ready when there was occasion. The room Parhedrin was called *the high priest's chamber;* not only because he was put apart in this room for seven days before the day of expiation, but hither the high priest called his brethren of the priesthood to consult about the affairs of the temple, and the service; so that it was as the vestry, or rather as the chapter-house, where they met in consultation about such matters. For this reason it was called *the chamber of the counsellors*, which name it retained so long as the high priesthood preserved its dignity and character; but when corruption and avarice broke in, they were no more called *counsellors*, but *sitters;* from whence the place where they met was called *Parhedrin*.

The gate of the firstlings stood next beyond the buildings last mentioned, westward, called also *the gate of offering;* because the firstlings that were to be offered were brought through it.

Still westward stood the gate of kindling, because a fire for the Levites was kept there. From this gate westward there ran a long building to the corner of the court, having partitions within. And there were three guards of Levites very near together, one joining to this gate on the east side,

another joining on the west side, which was called *the guard over against the veil;* and the third at the corner of the court.

These were the gates and buildings on the south side of the court; along the wall of the court at the west end, it was all plain, without any gates or openings. There was, indeed, at the back of the court wall, in the middle between the north and the south corners of it, a building standing in the chel, where the Levites kept a guard, which was called *the guard behind the mercy-seat;* but there is no evidence that there was any door out of it into the court; and if there had been, it was but a door, and not a gate. It is observed, that the guards of the priests and Levites about the temple are thus disposed. In three places the priests keep guard in the temple; in the chamber of Abhtines, in Beth Nitsots, and in Beth Mokadh: and the Levites in one and twenty places; five at the five gates of the mountain of the house, four at the four corners of it within, five at five gates of the court, and four at the four corners of it without; one in the chamber of Corban, one in the chamber over against the veil, and one behind the place of the mercy-seat. Middoth. per. 1.

On the north side of the court there were three gates; the first as you come from the west wall, called *Beth Mokadh;* the next eastward was *Corban,* or *the gate of the women;* the third, *Nitsots,* or *the gate of the song.* But before you came to the first gate, there was a building at the north-west corner, called *Beth Mokadh,* that extended from the north-west angle of the wall to the gate below of the same name; in the four corners of it it had four several apartments, and the room pro-

BOOK III.

perly called *Mokadh* was in the middle, as the centre. Two of these chambers stood within the court, and two without, and marks were set to shew where the two grounds parted.

The room in the south-west corner was called *the lamb-room;* because there the lambs were lodged that were appointed for the daily sacrifice. In the south-west room the shewbread was prepared that was set every sabbath upon the golden table. The north-west room was the place where the Maccabean family laid up the stones of the altar that was profaned with abominable sacrifices by the Grecian kings. The north-west room was a passage out of Beth Mokadh, the middle room, to a bathing place, for such who had received any nocturnal pollution in their sleep. In the middle room, called *Beth Mokadh*, or *the place of the burning*, was a fire continually kept during the cold season of the year, by day for the priests to warm themselves when they came from the service, and by night to keep them warm when they were upon guard; for here was the principal guard kept, and in this room there was a box or cabinet where the keys of the court were secured, and taken out or put in as occasion required.

Joining to the east end of this building was the gate Beth Mokadh, called also *the gate of Corban*, or *offering;* not only because the sacrifices that were to be offered were brought up this way, but because on this side the court, and joining to the east end of this gate, there was a treasury, called *Corban*, where the half-shekel paid for poll-money, and money for the repair of the temple, was laid. Then there was a room where the Levites kept

guard; and joining to that there was another treasury or Corban, where money for the support of the poor was kept: and joining to the east end of that was the middle gate on the south side, called

The gate Corban, because it joined to this building; and known likewise by the name of *the gate of the women;* because women that were clean, and brought burnt offerings or trespass offerings, presented them, and themselves with them, at this gate.

Between the middle gate Corban, and the gate that lay more eastward, called *Nitsots,* were three rooms; the room of the salt, the room of Parvah, and the room of the washers. The room of salt lay most westward, and joined to the gate; and here was the salt preserved for the use of the temple. Nothing was laid upon the altar unsalted, but the wood, the blood, and the wine of the drink offering. The priests that were in service salted the very skins of the sacrifices, lest they should be offensive; and here they were kept till the eve of the sabbath, when towards night they divided to every one his share. In the room of Parvah were the skins salted and laid up till the division was made. It had its name from Parim, which signifies bullocks; because the hides of beasts were there laid up. At the east end of this apartment there was another, called *the room of the washers;* because here they washed the inwards of the sacrifices. Out of this room there was a pair of winding stairs to the top of the room Parvah: here there was a bath, where the high priest washed himself upon the day of expiation. Levit. i. 9.

The gate that stood the most east of all the three on this north side was called *the gate Nitsots.* The

BOOK III.

word signifies *sparkling*, and this gate lay open to the south sun; and the leaves of it being gilt, they gave a sparkling or dazzling reflection into the court. It had also the name of *the gate of the song*, perhaps because they who entered this gate came in the very face of the Levites, as they stood in their desks singing or playing upon their instruments. Joining to the east side of this gate there was a building, called *the house of Nitsots*, in which the priests kept a guard in the upper room, and the Levites in the lower. This fabric ran eastward some way; and then there was another, which reached the very corner of the court wall; and this was called *the house of stone*. Here the priest that was to burn the red cow was set apart and sprinkled seven days before; and no vessels but what were made of earth or stone were used upon this occasion.

Having surveyed the wall that enclosed this court, and the particular gates and buildings in it, we are now to enter within, and observe what it contained: but first it will be useful to explain the names by which this court was called; which were, *the court of Israel*, and *the court of the priests*. For this purpose we must take notice that the court on the north, south, and west sides, had cloisters along the enclosing wall of it within, as the other courts had, borne up with pillars, and roofed over head, to secure people from rain and weather. Here the laity might come; and this was the court of Israel that went round about the court. At the east, as you came out of the gate of Nicanor, you entered upon the court of Israel, which was eleven cubits over, as you advanced towards the altar: and then

was the court of the priests, which was eleven cubits over likewise. These two spaces were double cloistered, being roofed over, and the roof supported with a double row of pillars, the one row standing out to the opening of the open court, and the other row standing where the two spaces parted the one from the other. These courts were distinguished by some grates or bars, which stood between pillar and pillar, in that middle row of pillars that bore up the roof of the cloister. No Israelite was admitted into the court of the priests but to lay his hand upon the beast that he offered, or to kill him, or to wave some part of him; and then he entered upon the north or south side. The court of the people was level with the floor of the east gate, or gate of Nicanor; but the floor of the court of the priests was two cubits and a half higher, into which the ascent was by four steps; first there was a step of a cubit high, and then three steps of half a cubit each. Thus was it as you went directly up from the gate of Nicanor forwards. But if you turned on either hand, there were the desks or standings of the Levites, where they sung and played upon their instruments. The pavement was thus: first there was a rising of a cubit high, and that ran along at that height before the rails and pillars that parted between the court of the priests and the court of the people. Then there were three steps, each of half a cubit; and upon the highest stood the Levites with their song and their instruments. Their feet were even with the floor of the court of the priests, and a desk before them. The Levites took up but two cubits and a half with their desks; the rest of the court of the priests, which was eight cubits and

BOOK III. a half, was taken up by the priests who were not in present waiting, but attended upon the worship and service.

CHAP. XVI.

The altar of burnt offering; the laver.

THE length of this inner court, from east to west, was a hundred eighty-seven cubits; and the breadth, from north to south, a hundred thirty-five. In the open space, exactly before the porch that gave access to the temple, stood the altar of burnt offering. This was a large pile, built all of unhewn stones, thirty-two cubits square at the bottom; from thence it rising one cubit benched in one cubit; and from thence being thirty cubits square, it rose five cubits, and benched in one cubit; and from thence being twenty-eight cubits square, it rose three cubits, and benched in two cubits; from whence it rose one cubit, which was the hearth upon which the offerings were burnt; and the benching in of two cubits' breadth was the passage round it, on which the priests stood when they looked after the fire, and placed the sacrifices upon it. So this hearth was a square of twenty-four cubits, and a cubit high, which was all made of solid brass; and from hence it was called the *brasen altar;* for it is not to be imagined that it was all made of brass; for it was forbidden by the law to make an altar of any thing but of earth or of unhewn stone: and if it were all of brass, it would not have answered the use intended; for the fire continually burning upon the top of it would so heat the whole, and especially that part of it next the hearth, that it would be impossible for the

priests to stand on it when they were to do their duty about the altar, especially since they always officiated barefooted, and had nothing to secure their feet from the heat of it.

When it is said that the foundation of this altar was thirty-two cubits square, it is not to be understood in the strictest sense; for in the south-east corner it wanted somewhat to make the corner a perfect angle, answerable to the other corners. The foundation, says the Talmud, was a perfect walk all along on the north side, and all along on the south; but on the south it wanted one cubit, and on the east one cubit. The reason of this defect was, because that very corner of the altar was not in the tribe of Benjamin, but in the tribe of Judah; for all the altar they held should be in the lot of Benjamin; and therefore they chose rather to make no angle at all at this point of the foundation, than to make it, since it would fall in the portion of Judah.

At the south-west corner, near to the point of the angle, there were two holes, one upon the west foundation, and another upon the south, into which the blood that was poured upon the foundation did fall, and so ran into a common shore under ground, which emptied itself into the valley of Kedron. In the middle of the altar, between the bottom and the top, there was a red line drawn visibly round about it, as a direction to the priests how to sprinkle the blood of the sacrifices above or below it; for since some blood was to be poured or sprinkled at the bottom of the altar, and some upon the horns of it, some above, and some below, to make sure that either of these should exactly keep its right place,

BOOK III.

they drew this line about, as a just boundary between them.

On the four corners of the altar, on the last benching in, where the priests stood when they offered the sacrifices, there were fixed four small pillars, of a cubit height, and a cubit on every side, in the form of an exact cube; and these were the *horns of the altar*, so often mentioned in scripture: the middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the blood of the sacrifices. Joab, when in fear of his life, is said to have fled to the altar, and to lay hold upon the horns of it; but the altar, says Kimchi upon the place, was no refuge for a murderer, but for manslaughter only committed unawares, and but upon the top of it. Joab, say the Jews, could not be ignorant of this; but he did it to save his estate, which had been forfeited, if he had been slain in another place; or to obtain a burial, which would have been denied him, had he been judicially condemned. But these reasons are not sound: it is more probable that by this means he hoped to obtain a pardon, as Abiathar had done, by consecrating himself to God and his service; for the laying hold of the altar had a vow in it for the future, as well as the hope of present safety; which may be proved from the nature of the altar, that made whatever touched it to be holy. But Joab by murder and treason was unfit to escape, and made incapable of being such a votary.

1 Kings ii. 29.

The ascent up to the altar was by a gentle rising on the south side, called *the Kibbesh*, which was thirty-two cubits in length, and sixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching in next the

hearth, or the top of the altar. Upon the east side there was a little passage that led from the first beginning of this great ascent to the foundation of the altar; and there was another that carried the priest up higher, if he was to sprinkle blood upon the horns of it. The common way to go up this rise or causeway was upon the right side, that is, the east, and to come down on the west. Upon the west side of this ascent there stood two tables, one of silver, upon which the vessels of the service were laid; the other of marble, called *the table of fat*, on which they laid the pieces of the sacrifices when they were to be brought up to the altar. There was also in the same side, as is supposed, in the very side of the causeway, a place where those birds were cast that were presented and found not fit to be offered, till they could conveniently be conveyed away. On the east side of the ascent was the place where they laid the guts and garbage of the birds that were offered, and where the ashes, that were brought from the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt offering, were poured down till they could be removed. By the marble table the priests stood when they sounded their trumpets at the time of divine service.

The manner of erecting this altar is thus given by the Talmud: when they built the altar, they built it solid, like a pillar, and they made no hollow in it; but one brought whole great stones and small, and he brought mortar and pitch and lead, and mixed all, and poured all into the great base that he had laid according to his measure; and so he built on upwards: and he put in the midst of the building a piece of wood, or of stone, at the

Exod. xx. 24. Talmud in Zevach.

BOOK III. south-east horn, according to the measure of the foundation; and so he put in the midst of every one of the horns, till he had finished the building. Then he took away those pieces that were in the midst of the building; so the south-east horn was left without a foundation, and the rest of the horns
Mid. per. 3. were left hollow. The Jews say that the altar was whited twice a year, at the passover, and at the feast of tabernacles. It was not plaistered with an iron trowel, lest it should be defiled; and on the eve of every sabbath they rubbed the altar with a mop, to cleanse it from the blood that stuck upon it.

The most ordinary and common place for the slaughter of the sacrifices was upon the north side of the altar, or at least on the north side of the court; and therefore eight cubits from the altar northward was the place of the rings, where staples in six rows, four in a row, were fixed in the pavement, to which the necks of the beasts were drawn down by cords, that they might be the more easily slain. Four cubits from the north of those rings there stood marble tables, on which they washed the inwards of the sacrifice, and cut it into pieces: and four cubits further north there were the pillars on which they hung up the sacrifice upon hooks, that so they might flay it. These were low pillars, that joined to those that supported the cloister on this north side. They were eight in number; and over the heads of them were laid transom beams of cedar, and hooks of iron fastened both in these beams and in the pillars, on which hooks they hanged up the beast slain for sacrifice, that they might the better come at him to flay him. Each of the pillars had three hooks one above another, that

they might be fit for beasts of all sizes. Before these pillars, or rather before the space that was between the pillars, (so that there might be a passage between,) stood the marble tables, upon which (after they had given the entrails their first washing in the washing-room before mentioned) they washed and dressed them a second time, and made them clean for the altar; and on which, after they had flayed the beast as he hung upon the hooks, they cut him into pieces as he was to be divided, in order to be laid upon the altar to be offered up. From these low pillars to the north wall of the court were eight cubits, which was the space of the Israelites' station on this side, and was narrower by three cubits than their standing at the east end. There were tables and marble pillars on the south side of the altar, that served the same purposes as the other; for the sacrifices called *the less holy things* might be slain in any part of the court, and consequently on the south side. And when more offerings came than could be contained in the space just between the altar and the south wall, then all the south side of the court was allowed for that use, even as far as the middle of the altar between north and south.

The space between the foundation of the altar westward, and the porch of the temple, was two and twenty cubits; but there was not so much clear ground or passage between them; for the stairs of the porch being in number twelve, and every step a cubit broad, besides the half-pace or enlarging at every third step, occasioned that these steps lay down a great way in the court towards the altar, and took up a good space of these two and twenty cubits. Every one of these steps was half a

BOOK III.

cubit high; so that the whole rise was six cubits from the ground to the landing in the porch. Upon these steps of the porch the priests stood, when they came out from burning incense, and blessed the people. In this space between the porch and the altar no man was to come that had a blemish upon him; because the ground was sacred, and near the sanctuary: nor was any to come here bareheaded; because they always covered their heads in their greatest devotions; and therefore it was indecent to approach so holy a place with the head bare. When the priest was burning incense in the holy place, no man might stand upon this space, or stay within it; and that they might know the time when to withdraw, the sagan, or president of the service, called to the priest that was within the sanctuary with a loud voice, and gave him notice when he should begin with the incense, saying to him, "Offer the incense;" and as he spake thus, the people withdrew.

In this space between the altar and the porch stood the laver, not directly before the altar, but removed towards the south; so that it stood between the rise of the altar and the porch. The size and measure of this vessel under the second temple is not described; only these particulars of it are recorded in the antiquities of the Hebrew writers: the laver at first had but two spouts out of which the water ran; but one Ben Kattin, a priest, made twelve, that resembled the paps of a woman. There were twelve priests always employed at offering up the daily sacrifice, some for one part of the service, and some for another; and by this means they had the conveniency of washing together before they

entered upon the service; and it appears from hence, that this vessel was of great reception and capacity. The laver was filled by water forced into it by the wheel in the well-room, through some singular conveyance. If the water stood all night, it was useless and unlawful; and therefore it was either evacuated at night when the service of the day was done, or it was let out in the morning by the priest that was to do the first work of the day, who went into the well-room and worked at the wheel, which forced the water through pipes into the vessel till it was full: however, it was a rule that there should be always water sufficient to wash four priests of a row. Their manner of washing was thus: the priest laid his right hand upon his right foot, and his left hand upon his left; and as the cock ran upon him, he thus stood stooping, and washed his hands and his feet together. He that went about the service with unwashen hands and feet in the morning, was liable to death by the hand of Heaven: and if a priest was clean before, yet he durst not officiate before he had bathed. In the service he must stand upon the bare pavement; so that in the winter the duty was exceeding sharp: his body must be bathed in cold water before he entered; then he was to wash his hands and feet, and stand in thin linen, and upon the cold stones, all the time of his ministration.

The many vessels of a lower order that served for the uses of the sanctuary, or the names and fashions of them, it is scarce possible to discover. The number of vessels of gold and silver are reckoned by Ezra to be five thousand four hundred; and the Talmud asserts that ninety and three were used

Tamid. per. 3.

BOOK III. every day about the daily sacrifice. There were peculiar vessels that served for the day of expiation, and other services had proper vessels assigned them; so that the number must be very great, and was still increasing by the piety of good persons, who were still offering one vessel or other in devotion. The several fashions and sizes of them are likewise uncertain, and are rather to be guessed at than determined; and the uses to which they were put will afford more help in finding out their shape and designs, than either their names do, or any description we can have of them.

There were basons, in which the blood was received when the beast for the sacrifice was slain; dishes, out of which the blood was sprinkled on the altar; voiders or trays of gold and silver, in which the entrails were carried to be washed, and when they were washed brought to the altar; vessels, out of which they poured the drink offering; chafing dishes to take coals from the altar for the burning of the incense; dishes for frankincense; perfuming pans for the incense; dishes about the shew-bread; and such variety of dishes, basons, vials, cruises, tankards, and such vessels, that it would be endless to inquire after them. To which may be added, the axes, knives, flesh-hooks, forks, fire-pans, tongs, snuffers, pots, pans, caldrons, and innumerable others, which but to mention would be te-

His. 70. Interp. dious, and to describe impossible. Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, (if we believe Aristeas,) bestowed many noble presents upon the temple, golden and silver goblets, golden vials, and a golden table of great cost and most curious workmanship. And queen Helena, the mother of Monobazes, king of

Adiabena beyond the Euphrates, gave a golden candlestick that was over the temple door, and a golden table, which hung upon the wall of the gate of Nicanor, and upon which was written the section of the law concerning the suspected wife. I shall desist from pursuing this subject any further, being called upon by the method proposed to take a short survey of the magnificent and sacred structure of the temple itself.

CHAP. XVII.

A description of the temple, its height, length, and breadth; its chambers, galleries, &c.

HE, say the rabbins, that never saw Jerusalem in her glory, never saw a lovely city; and he that never saw the sanctuary, with its buildings, never saw the most noble fabric under the sun. The measures of this temple, as it stood in our Saviour's time, and till the destruction of Jerusalem, was a hundred cubits long, a hundred cubits broad, and a hundred cubits high; and yet not an exact cube, as will appear hereafter. The form and fashion of this pile on the outside was thus: it was built of white marble full of curious veins and many colours; the size of the stones was large and astonishing, and the walls rose to that great height of a hundred cubits by these distinct measures.

The foundation (as commonly in stone buildings of a great pile) was six cubits from the ground upwards; from hence the wall rose in a plain, without borderings or standings out, for forty cubits; then a border curiously wrought of a cubit high. Above this, for the security of the wall and stones from the

BOOK III. droppings of the roof, there was a row of stones that jutted out of the building, neatly guttered or riggetted, and as artificially joined in the riggetting, that laid under the edge of the leads that cast off the rain. By this means the droppings from the leads or spouts were carried off; and this gutter was two cubits high; the timber or place for laying on the roof was a cubit; the roof itself a cubit. Thus we are come to the lower leads, for so they may be called, it being an expression best known among us. Let us follow the building still to its perfect height, and conceive it to be narrowed now to half the breadth, and so to rise in the midst of the pile, as that the leads on either side were five and twenty cubits broad. The height of the room above, or the rising above the leads in a straight wall, was forty cubits. This is called an *upper room*, because it was directly over the holy and most holy places. Another engraven border of the breadth of a cubit. The gutter two cubits, as before. The roof a cubit. The plaister covering, instead of leads, a cubit. The battlements three cubits. Upon the battlements round about (if the Jews are to be believed) there was a pike of iron of a cubit high, to keep the birds from lighting upon it. It is more probable that for beauty and ornament there were pinnacles upon the battlements. The roof was not a perfect flat, as the roof of other houses; but it rose till the crest in the middle came as high as the height of the battlements round about.

Thus were the risings of the temple to its height. It will be proper to observe now into what lesser measures those dimensions were divided: the length

of it was from east to west a hundred cubits, and so was the breadth from north to south in some parts of it, but not in all. The part that bore this breadth was only the porch; for the building behind it was seventy cubits broad; and the porch stood before it as a cross building, reaching fifteen cubits south, and fifteen cubits north, further out than the breadth of the temple. The thickness of the wall at either end was five cubits; and from that wall, to the wall of the temple on either side, ten. The porch was a hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, twenty cubits above the height of the rest of the house. There was a chamber in each end of this porch, in the part that stood out further than the temple, in which there were four and twenty little closets, twelve in each chamber, in which were laid up severally, for the four and twenty courses of the priests, the knives and instruments that they used about killing and flaying and cutting up the beasts to be sacrificed. What became of the other rooms of the porch, for there were many chambers and stories over head, is difficult to determine.

In the middle of this spacious front was the gate of the porch, forty cubits high, and twenty cubits broad. It had no doors at all, but it was an open gate, into which whosoever stood in the court might look, and see the space of the porch within. This entrance was gilt with gold.

The entrance out of the porch into the temple was through two gates of two folding leaves apiece; the wall of the temple was six cubits thick; the leaves of the first gate were five cubits broad, and were hung a cubit within the thickness of the wall

BOOK III. from the porch; so that when they were open they covered the whole thickness of the wall on the right hand and on the left, that as you passed through you could not see it. At the very furthest end of the thickness of the wall towards the holy place, there was a two-leaved door likewise parallel to this, which when the leaves opened they fell back to the wall that was at the lower end of the house, and covered a place which was ungilded; for all the walls were gilt, but only the places where the leaves of the doors fell back. In the five cubits' space between the two doors, behind the leaf of the door upon the right hand, there was a marble flag of a cubit square, that lay loose in the floor, with a ring fastened in it to pull it up; and when the priests tried any suspected wife, they pulled up this stone, and took dust from under it to put into the water for her to drink, as the law prescribed. Between these two doors also, in this five cubits' space, there hung a veil, answerable to the veil at the door of the tabernacle.

Over the temple door there was a great golden vine, that (as Josephus relates) had bunches of grapes as big as the proportion of a man. It came to this bigness by degrees; for pious persons were continually offering, some, gold to make a leaf, some, a grape, some, a bunch; and these were hung upon it; so that it was always increasing. Over the door likewise there was a golden candlestick given by queen Helena before mentioned, who was a great benefactress to the Jews. And in the porch on either side of the temple door there was a table; on the right side one of marble, on which they set the shewbread as they carried it new into the temple;

De Bell. lib. v. cap. 14.

and on the left one of gold, where they set the old bread for some time when they fetched it out. And the reason why they began at the marble table, and ended at the golden, was because they advanced higher and higher in all their ceremonies of divine worship.

The body of the temple pointed exactly upon the middle of the porch, the breadth of it between wall and wall just equal with the breadth of this entrance; but the walls and chambers built on either side of such a breadth as that the whole came to seventy cubits. The breadth beginning at the north side is laid out into these particular measures: the outmost wall, called *the wall of the gallery*, five cubits thick; the gallery three cubits broad; the wall of the chambers five cubits thick; the chambers in breadth six cubits; the wall of the temple six cubits thick; the breadth of the temple within, from wall to wall, twenty cubits; the other wall of it six cubits thick; the breadth of the chambers six cubits; the wall of the chambers five cubits thick; the place of the coming down of the water three cubits broad; the outmost wall five cubits. Seventy in all.

Now the chambers were eight and thirty, fifteen upon the north side, fifteen upon the south, and eight at the west end. They were in three stories, five in the lowest, five over them, and five over those; thus upon the north and south sides; but at the west end there were three upon the ground, and three over them, and two over those. Every chamber was six cubits broad, and twice as long; (only the two highest chambers at the west end were of a greater length;) and there was a space between the chambers on the same floor, in manner of an entry,

BOOK III. of about seven cubits and a half broad, that you might pass in it between chamber and chamber to every chamber door that was upon the side.

Before these chambers there ran a gallery from the east end of the building to the west, (but at the west end there was none such,) three cubits in breadth, by which you were carried along to any of these entries between the chambers, and so to any chamber door. In the outmost wall of the fabric, towards the north and the south, there were four doors on either side into four entries; (for so many there were between five chambers;) but as soon as you were come within the doors, there ran a gallery along on your right hand and left, over which you stepped into the entry that was before you; or if you went not in at the door that was just opposite to the entry that you would go to, you might go in at any door that you would, and this gallery would lead you to that entry.

Thus was it with the lowest chambers, and the like gallery and entries were in the middle story and in the highest. Now the way to go up into them was by a large pair of turning stairs in a turret, at the north-east corner of the north side; by which stairs you went up to the first floor; and there, if you would, you might land in the gallery, and go to what entry or chamber you would; or if you would go higher, you might go up into the gallery in the third story; and if you pleased you might go higher yet, upon the roof round about the whole pile.

Besides this staircase, which thus conveyed to the roof of the buildings, there was such another at the furthest end of each of the entries that have been

spoken of, which carried up to the first and second floor, or to the upper chambers, but went not so high as to convey to the roof. And so had you gone in at any of the four doors to the ground chambers, either on the north side of the house or on the south, stepping over the gallery you came into the entry between two chambers, one on your right hand, and another on your left, their doors opening into the entry, and facing one another. But before you go towards the temple wall, there was a round large staircase, into which you might go out of either chamber, and so up stairs into the chambers over head, and from thence up stairs again into the chambers over them.

The chambers at the west end had no gallery at all before them, but you stepped immediately through the doors that were in the outmost wall into the entries; and at the end of the entries there was such a staircase as this, which carried you up from story to story.

On the south there were such galleries in the three heights as were on the north, and such staircases at the end of the entries joining to the temple wall; but that space, where the galleries were, was called *the place of the coming down of the water*, because in this space were laid the pipes that conveyed water from the fountain Etam into the well-room.

The stairs of the turret in the north-east corner on the north side carried to the roof of the building. At the top of the stairs you went through a small door; and as soon as you stept within, there were two cedar beams laid close together, sloping still upward, and having steps cut in them, by which

BOOK III. you might go to the very top of the temple. When you were upon the roof you might see little pilasters set, which shewed the partition between the holy and the most holy place. In the floor over the most holy place there were many holes like trap-doors, through which workmen were let down by cords to mend the walls of the most holy place when there was occasion; and they were let down in chests or trunks, where they could see nothing but their work before them, that they might not (say the Jews) feed their eyes with looking upon the most holy place. But if there were no chests to be had, they were suffered to go through the doors.

CHAP. XVIII.

The holy place, with its furniture. The most holy place.

THE holy place was forty cubits long, and twenty broad. In the temple of Solomon it was thirty cubits high, having no floor at all on this side the roof; but in Herod's temple it was sixty; for the Jews of the captivity after their return built their temple sixty cubits high. It was not floored over, but left open to the roof, as the first temple had been; and at the same height was it floored over in the time of Herod. There was an inequality of the height of the floors in the three parts of the house, the porch, the holy place, and the most holy. The first floor of the porch was ninety cubits high, the holy place sixty, and the most holy but twenty; and therefore whereas there was a floor over the most holy place even with the floor of the holy place, at the height of sixty cubits, that was not the first floor

over it, but there was another forty cubits below that. CHAP. XVIII.

The beauty and splendour of this holy place was exceeding noble; the floor you trod upon was planked with boards of fir, and they gilt with gold. The walls were wainscotted with cedar, adorned with carvings of knops and open flowers, cherubs, and palm trees, and all gilt likewise. For the height of fifty cubits (for so high were the side chambers without the house) the walls shone with this embroidery, and the ten cubits above was the place of the windows, that were narrow without, and broad within.

In this room of the holy place was the candlestick, the table of shewbread, and the altar of incense; the first of gold, the other two gilded. The fashion and the utensils of the candlestick have been already described; for they answered in the general to those that Moses made and placed in the tabernacle: only under the second temple the candlestick was a yard and a half high; and before it was a stone with three steps cut in it, upon which the priest stood that trimmed the lamps, and where he set down his dishes while he was about this work.

In the tabernacle of Moses the table of shewbread was two cubits long, and a cubit and a half broad; but under the second temple it wanted the half cubit in breadth. The reason is no where expressed. It stood upon the north side of the house lengthways in its place, that is, east and west. Upon this table twelve loaves were continually standing, which were made and placed in this manner:

Out of four and twenty sata, (three of which went to an ephah,) that is, out of eight bushels of wheat

BOOK III.

being ground, they sifted out four and twenty tenth deals, or homers, of the purest flour, and that they made into twelve cakes, two homers in a cake, or the fifth part of an ephah of corn in every cake. The cakes were made square, ten hands' breadth long, and five broad, and seven fingers thick. They were baked in a room in the great building Beth-Mokadh upon the day before the sabbath.

Upon the sabbath day four priests went first in to fetch away the loaves that had stood all the week, and other four followed them with the new ones. Two of the four last carried the two rows of the cakes, that is, six apiece; and the two other carried either of them a golden dish, in which they put the frankincense that was to be set upon the loaves; and so those four that went to fetch out the old bread, two of them were to carry the cakes, and the other two the dishes. The four that came to fetch the old bread out stood before the table with their faces towards the north, and the other four that brought in the new stood between the table and the wall, with their faces towards the south. Those drew off the old cakes; and these, as the other went off, slipt on the new; so that the table was never without bread upon it, because it is said that they should stand before the Lord continually.

The cakes were placed in two rows, six and six, one upon another; and they set them the length of the cakes cross over the breadth of the table, and so the cakes lay two hands' breadth over the table on either side; for the table carried the breadth but of six hands, and the cakes were ten hands' breadth long. To support that part which lay over, that it should not break off, they had a contrivance; but

the description of it is left so obscure that it cannot well be understood. They laid the lowest cake of either row upon the plain table, and upon that cake they set at equal distance three sticks of gold, (they were hollow, like the half of a slit cane,) and upon those they laid the next cake, and then three golden canes again, and upon them another cake, and so of the rest; but upon the fifth cake they laid but two canes, because there was but one cake more to be laid upon. The design of these canes was, that the air might come to every cake, and so preserve them from mouldiness and corruption. The cake lay hollow, and one did not touch another. The canes were placed so that they lay within the compass of the breadth of the table, so that the cakes that lay over the table on either side bare no burden but their own weight. On the top of either row was set a golden dish with a handful of frankincense, which was burnt when the bread was taken away, and the cakes were eaten by the priests.

The length of the holy place was forty cubits; and when you had advanced six and twenty and two third parts of a cubit, there stood the candlestick on one side of the house, and the table on the other; and somewhat higher towards the veil stood the altar of incense. It was a cubit square, and two cubits high; had four horns at the four corners, and a crown about the brim; and upon it incense was offered morning and evening every day.

The partition between the holy and most holy place was the space of a cubit, and on either side of that space was hung a veil. These veils were woven of four colours, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine white linen yarn. Every one of these threads was twisted

BOOK III.

six double, and woven upon hair for the warp of seventy-two hairs twisted into every thread. The old ones were taken away every year, and new ones put in their places. Maimonides gives a very satisfactory account of this partition. In the temple, says he, there was a wall which parted between the holy and most holy place of a cubit thick. But when the second temple was built, it was a question whether the thickness of that wall belonged to the measure of the holy place or of the most holy; therefore they made the most holy place twenty cubits long complete, and they made the holy place complete forty cubits long, and they left a space between the holy and the most holy place of a cubit breadth. And in the second temple they built not a wall there; but they made two veils, one at the end of the most holy place eastward, and the other at the end of the holy place westward; and between them there was a cubit's breadth, according to the thickness of the wall that had been in the first temple; but in the first temple there was but one veil.

Bethabbaech, per. iv.

The most holy place in the temple of Solomon was a space of twenty cubits every way; but after the captivity it does not appear that the builders were so curious to reduce the compass to a cubic form, but that the height did exceed the breadth. It was indeed twenty cubits long, and twenty cubits broad; but the height was much more, for any thing that can be proved to the contrary. The walls were adorned with cherubims and palm trees and precious stones intermixed; and the floor and walls and roof were gilded with gold.

It has been observed before, that the ark of the

covenant perished in the destruction of the first temple by the Chaldeans; but they supplied the defect, as to the form, under the second; for they made an ark of the same shape and dimensions with the first, and put it in the most holy place. But though one was substituted in its room, that the service might be regularly performed upon the great day of expiation, yet it enjoyed none of the prerogatives and honours belonging to the first. There were no tables of the law, no Aaron's rod, no pot of manna near it, no appearance of the divine glory over it, no oracles given from it. The first ark was made and consecrated by divine appointment, and was possessed of these distinguishing privileges; but the second being designed and substituted by man only, had none of them. And the only use that was made of it was to represent the former on the great day of expiation, and to be a repository of the holy scriptures, that is, of the original copy of that collection that was made by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue after the captivity; for when this copy was perfected, it was there laid up. In imitation of this, the Jews in all their synagogues have an ark or coffer of the same size and form, in which they keep the scriptures belonging to the synagogue, and from whence they take out the copy with great solemnity when they use it, and so return it and lay it up when they have done. In the second temple they had a breastplate likewise, which, though it wanted the glory of the former, yet it served for an ornament to the high priesthood.

Such were the particular parts and dimensions of the second temple, and the several vessels and utensils belonging to them. It has been said before

BOOK III. that the length was a hundred cubits, and thus it is made out: the wall of the porch was five cubits broad, the porch itself eleven cubits broad, the wall of the temple six cubits thick, the holy place forty cubits long, the space between the holy and most holy place one cubit, the length of the most holy place twenty cubits, the temple wall six cubits thick, the breadth of the chamber at the end six cubits, the wall of the chambers five cubits thick.

CHAP. XIX.

The dedication of the temple; its final destruction by the Romans.

BETWEEN the return of the Jews from Babylon and the destruction of Jerusalem there were strictly and literally two temples; the first built by Zorobabel, which was afterward pulled down and rebuilt by Herod, and may be called *the second temple after the captivity.* The first of these was twenty years in building; for so many years were elapsed from the second of Cyrus, when it was first begun, to the seventh of Darius, when it was finished. In the latter part of the reign of Cyrus, and through the whole reign of Cambyses, it met with such discouragements that it went but slowly forward; and during the usurpation of the Magians, and for almost two years after, it was wholly suppressed, that is, till toward the latter end of the second year of the reign of Darius. But then it being again resumed by the preaching of the prophets Haggai and Zachariah, it was carried on with that vigour, that in the beginning of the seventh year of Darius it was fully

finished, and then solemnly dedicated to divine use. The dedication was celebrated by the priests and Levites with the people, with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and as many sacrifices as their circumstances would admit of. And particularly there was a sin offering of twelve he-goats for the whole nation of Israel, according to the number of their tribes; which is an evidence that some of every tribe returned from the lands where they had been captives, and assisted in the sacred work of rebuilding the temple. In this dedication the hundred forty-sixth, seventh, and eighth psalms seem to have been sung; for in the Septuagint version they are styled *the psalms of Haggai and Zechariah*, as if they had been composed by them for this occasion. And this, no doubt, was from some ancient tradition; but in the original Hebrew these psalms have no such title prefixed to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

This temple received no remarkable change till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, who was the most bloody enemy that the people and religion of the Jews ever had; and the mischief that this tyrant and persecutor brought upon the temple and nation is inexpressible. He prohibited circumcision, burnt the books of the law, profaned the altar, and would allow no oblations to be offered there but idolatrous sacrifices. He persecuted the truth, murdered those that professed it, and defiled the sanctuary with all manner of abomination. This outrage and villainy was withstood by Mattathias, the father of the Maccabean family; but he died before he accomplished it. His son Judas Maccabeus fought successfully against the tyrant and his

1 Macc. iv. 54, &c.

BOOK III.

generals, and returned and purified the temple, erected a new altar, and dedicated it to the service of God, (says the historian,) *with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals;—and so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise.* From thence even till now (says Josephus) we keep that feast, and call it φῶτα, (it may be Englished *Candlemas*,) naming the feast, as I think, from this, because such a restoration shone unexpectedly upon us.

In memory of this great deliverance from the Syro-Grecian tyrants, an annual festival was appointed of eight days, from the eight and twentieth day of the month Casleu eight days forward, which fell about the former part of our December. In the service of the temple was the Hallel sung over on every one of these eight days; and the greatest ceremony of the feast in all other places was the lighting of candles every evening, and setting them up at the doors of their houses to burn in the night. And to such supererogation in this point did some grow in time, that they used to light up a candle for every one that was in their family; and some would yet go so high as to double that number every night: as, if there were ten in his house, he lighted up ten candles the first night of the feast, and twenty the second, and thirty the third; and so still increased, that on the eighth night he lighted up eighty candles. The reason of celebrating the feast in this manner is thus given by Maimonides. When Israel prevailed against their enemies, and destroyed them, it was the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, and they went into the temple,

In Chanuchah, per. 3.

and found not there any pure oil, but only one bottle; and there was no more oil in it than to keep the lamps burning for one day only, yet did they light them with it; and, says his glossary, a miracle followed, for it maintained the lamps burning eight nights. Whereupon the wisemen of that generation did on the next year appoint these eight days for days of rejoicing and praise, and for lighting up of candles at the doors of their houses.

This temple had stood about five hundred years when Herod proposed to rebuild it, and, since its erection, had received several decays, both by the length of time and the violence of enemies; for by reason of its situation, being the strongest part of Jerusalem, whenever the inhabitants were pressed by war, they always made their last refuge thither; and whenever they did so, some of its building suffered by it. Herod, to recover the favour of the people, and, perhaps, in some measure to expiate for the murder of the greatest part of the sanhedrim, whom he destroyed when he came to be king, called an assembly of the people, and proposed to them the building of the temple; but they startled at the offer, being apprehensive that when the old temple was pulled down, he would never be able to erect a new one in the place. He, to deliver them from this fear, assured them, that before he moved a stone of the old, he would have all the materials ready for the new building. And accordingly he vigorously set about the preparations for the work, employing a thousand waggons to carry stones, ten thousand artificers to fit all things for the fabric, and a thousand priests skilful in all parts of architecture to supervise and direct the whole. In two

BOOK III. years the materials were ready, and the old edifice was pulled down. He began the work in the eighteenth year of his reign, just forty-six years before the first passover of Christ's personal min-
John ii. 20. istry; at which the Jews told him, that *forty and six years hath this temple been in building* (for so the text should be translated.) At this time forty-six years had passed since the building was begun, and in nine years and a half it was made fit for divine service. But a great number of labourers and artificers were still continued at work for carrying on of the outbuildings all the time of our Saviour's being upon earth, and for some years after, till Gessius Florus came to be governor of Judæa; when eighteen thousand of them being discharged at once, and wanting employment, they began those mutinies and tumults which at last drew on the destruction of Jerusalem, and the temple with it.

This sacred structure, erected with great cost and magnificence, after it had stood about eighty-five years, submitted to the power of the Roman arms, and was burnt down upon the Christian sabbath, on the tenth day of the month Ab, about the three and twentieth of our July, a day fatal to the temple, for the first temple was burnt by the Babylonians upon the same day. The cloisters, commonly called *the porches of the temple*, were fired upon the eighth day, and were burning on the ninth; but that day Titus the Roman general called a council of war, and carried it by three voices that the temple should be spared. But the Jews raised new commotions, and occasioned it to be set on fire, though against the command of Titus, who thought so

stately a fabric would redound to the glory of the Roman empire, and therefore used his utmost endeavour to preserve it; but the flames raged with great fury and violence, till it was utterly consumed. It was afterwards razed to the very ground by the command of Titus, who left the execution of his orders to Terentius Rufus, captain of the tenth legion; and they were so punctually obeyed, that, after the Roman manner, he ploughed up the very foundation of the temple and the buildings about it, to accomplish (says a learned rabbi) what is said, *Sion shall become a ploughed field.*

CHAP. XX.

The reverence paid to the temple, and the places belonging to it. The different holiness of the several parts of the temple.

THE second temple, in its buildings and grandeur, came little short of the first, and there are some who will say it exceeded it. But still what was the principal glory of the first temple, those extraordinary marks of the divine favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the second. The Jews reckon this defect to consist in five particulars: 1. the ark of the covenant, and the mercy-seat which was upon it; 2. the shechinah, or divine presence; 3. the Urim and Thummim; 4. the holy fire upon the altar; 5. the spirit of prophecy. But notwithstanding these distinguishing evidences of the divine favour were taken away, yet still they had that regard to the holiness of the place, and the equity of that law, *Thou shalt reverence my sanc-*

Maim. in Taanith, per. 5.

BOOK III. *tuary*, that they frequented the worship of the temple with all possible respect and veneration; and at length exceeded the prescription of the law, by observing some precise and traditionary customs, which, perhaps of little moment, yet may properly be taken notice of in this place.

No man might go into the mountain of the house with his staff, for it was thought unfit to bring weapons of force into a place that was ordained for peace, or to use that place as a journey which was to be a rest, or to lean upon any staff there, but only upon God; yet the man of the mountain of the house would walk up and down with his staff, and strike the Levites whom he found sleeping upon the guard.

Nor with his shoes upon his feet; which prohibition they took from the words of God to Moses and Joshua, *Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place where thou standest is holy ground.* But the people were allowed to wear sandals, though the Levites might not go into their desks to sing, nor the priests into the courts to serve, not so much as in their sandals, but barefooted.

Exod. iii. 5. Josh. v. 15.

Nor with his scrip or bagpurse about him. This will be explained when we come to another prohibition.

Nor with the dust upon his feet; but he was obliged to wash or wipe them, and to look to his feet when he entered into the house of God.

Nor with money tied to him in his purse. Now the scrip above mentioned was a kind of apron with divers purses or pockets made in it, in which they put their necessaries, and which they could readily put on or off, wear or lay aside, as they saw oc-

casion. And as in such an apron they had their pockets, so in the scarf or linen girdle with which they girded their under-coats, they had their purses, and had a way to keep the money they carried about them in their girdles, when they travelled or went upon their occasions. But they were to bring no money in it when they came into the mountain of the house: not but that money in abundance was brought to the temple, for they bought offerings of the priests, and gave money to the treasury; but they always brought it in their hands.

Being come into the mountain of the house, he was to observe these four things: he was not to spit there; but if he was obliged to spit, he was to do it in the corner of his garment. There was a street in Jerusalem called *the upper street*, and in this street spittle was unclean, and in no street of the city besides. He was not to use any irreverent gesture, especially not before the gate of Nicanor, for that was directly before the face of the temple. This irreverence included laughing, scoffing, and idle talking, and without doubt all other acts of higher indecency. He was not to make the mountain of the house a thoroughfare. The same respect was to be shewn to their synagogues. He was not to go through the mountain of the house, if that was the nearer way, but to go about; for thither he was not to come, but upon occasions of religion only.

He that went into the court was to go slowly and gravely into the place where he was to stand, and there he was to behave, as in the presence of God, with all reverence and fear.

Being come in to attend upon divine service in

BOOK III.

the court, he was obliged to stand, and neither sit, nor lean, nor lie down; for it was not only their custom, but they thought it their duty, to pray standing, wheresoever they prayed. There are eight things (says Maimonides) that the person who prayed was to observe to do: to stand, to set his face toward the temple, to compose his body, to let his clothes hang decently, to fit his place, to order his voice, to bow, and to worship. He is not to pray but standing, unless he be sick or weak; and if he be in a ship or in a cart, if he can, let him stand. For the composure of their bodies in prayer their tradition gives this rule: he is to stand with his feet one even by another, and must cast his eyes downward, and his heart upward, and he must lay his hands upon his breast, the right hand upon the left, and he must stand, as a servant before his master, with all fear and devotion. And even the priests, when they pronounced the blessing upon the people, neither looked up toward heaven, nor directly upon the people, but down upon the ground. Were they never so weary with standing, or had they stood never so long, yet they might not sit down in the court, either people or priests; for no man, say they, might sit in the court, but only kings of the house of David.

In Tephillah, per. 5.

They were not to pray with their heads uncovered. The priests wore their bonnets constantly in the time of their ministration; but this was not thought sufficient; for they served with another covering, like a veil, upon their heads.

Their bodily gesture in bowing before the Lord was either bending of the knees, or bowing of the head, or falling prostrate upon the ground. The

last, though most spoken of, was least in use. They used sometimes indeed to fall down upon the floor in prostration, but this was generally changed among them from a flat falling upon the ground to a very low bending of the body towards it; for they had this maxim, that prostration was not proper for every man, but only for such who knew themselves righteous men, like Joshua.

When they had performed the service, and were to go away, they might not turn their backs upon the altar; and therefore they went backward till they were out of the court. And when they came into the mountain of the house, they might not go out at the same gate at which they came in.

These were the distinguishing acts of reverence which the Jews observed to the temple, and the worship performed in it; which as they are various and more solemn, the nearer a man approached to the sanctuary, so the temple and the several parts about it were understood to admit of various degrees of holiness. The mountain of the house was thought the least holy, and the *sanctum sanctorum* was properly esteemed to be the holiest of all. The degrees of holiness applied to sacred places are thus computed.

The mountain of the temple was more holy than Jerusalem. Men or women that had issues or fluxes, and women that were unclean in their purgations, and upon childbearing, might not come hither; because they made that unclean that either they sate, or lay, or stood upon.

The chel was more holy than the mountain of the house; for strangers, and those who were defiled by the dead, might not come within it, which they

BOOK III. might do into the other. Here they might not enter upon pain of death.

The court of the women was more holy than the chel; for whoever was defiled with such an uncleanness as required his washing, and the sun going down before he was clean, though he had washed, yet if the sun had not set, he or she might not come in here.

The court of Israel was more holy than the court of the women. Such as were freed from their uncleanness, but had not yet made their atonement for their purification, were not to be admitted here. There were four sorts of these; the leper, a man who had an issue, a woman that had been in her separation, and she that had borne a child. Women indeed were not allowed to go into the court at all; but men, who might enter at other times, were not to go, in in this condition, till their atonement was made.

The court of the priests was more holy than the court of Israel. No Israelite was admitted there, but either to lay his hand upon the head of his sacrifice, or to slay it, or to wave some part of it when it was killed.

Between the porch and the altar was more holy than the lower part of the court; for no priest might come there that had a blemish, or was bareheaded, that is, without his bonnet, and without his veil.

The temple was more holy than that. There none might enter but with washed hands and feet.

The oracle, or within the veil, was most holy of all. None might enter there but the high priest, and that but upon one day in the year only.

Thus are the different degrees of holiness stated

that were applied to the temple, and the sacred places belonging to it. But these distinctions would have been insufficient to secure it from pollution, unless unclean persons were forbidden, under severe penalties, to violate these barriers and defences which were designed to preserve the temple and the divine worship from abuse and defilement. There were indeed porters and guards appointed at the gates; but thousands of unclean persons might pass them unobserved; and it was impossible, without immodesty and incivility, to detect them. They might repel and keep back what or whosoever appeared with any visible pollution; but to keep out all that were in uncleanness was utterly impracticable. A man might have touched a corpse, or a woman in her separation, or suffered gonorrhœa in the night, and presume to enter into the temple, and no one living know of it but himself; and therefore it was impossible to discover or restrain him, unless by the spirit of prophecy, or by giving him an oath, which we never find that the porters pretended to administer. The security of the place therefore from pollutions lay in the severity of the penalties that were sentenced against and inflicted upon offenders, according to the nature of their crime, which were four; death by the hand of Heaven, cutting off, whipping, and the rebels' beating. The nature of these punishments has been described before. And among crimes that fell under these penalties, that of going into the sanctuary in uncleanness was liable to as many of them as any one offence whatsoever. It would be tedious to insist upon particulars; let these few serve as a direction to judge of the rest.

A priest, or any other that went into the court,

BOOK III. being unclean, fell under the guilt of being cut off; and if he presumed to assist in any part of the service, he became liable to death by the hand of Heaven. A priest found guilty of this crime was never brought before the sanhedrim to be tried; but the young men of the priests thrust him out of the court, and dashed out his brains with the billets. And so they used other persons. A leper that entered the mountain of the house was scourged with eighty stripes. He that was defiled by the dead, or unclean for a day, if he went into the court of the women, was beaten with the rebels' beating. And so was he that came in, having eaten or drunk any unclean thing; or, after an uncleanness of seven days, presumed to go into the court of Israel before his atonement was made. He who brought in a vessel, or came in any clothes, which one that was defiled by the dead had touched, was to be whipped. And, in short, whoever came upon the holy ground in uncleanness, and knew of it, incurred the guilt of cutting off *ipso facto*. And if he were discovered, and the matter proved by witness, he was sure either to be whipped or to be mauled with the rebels' beating; the former always terrible, the latter often mortal. This was the sure guard of the temple that kept it from pollution and defilement. And they were so strict, that if a man entered there in uncleanness, and knew nothing of it, his ignorance was not so wholly excused; but whenever he came to know in what case he was, he was obliged to bring an offering as an atonement for his sin.

CHAP. XXI.

The original of synagogues; the form of them; the officers belonging to them.

THE institution of synagogues did not arise from any precept of Moses, nor were they erected for the use of any part of the ceremonial service, which was properly confined to the temple, but for public assemblies to hear the law read and expounded, and to offer the prayers of the people to God. The common opinion is, that they were not in being before the captivity of Babylon, and that necessity first taught the Jews the use of them in that captivity, which afterward they brought with them at their return into their own country. The reason (says Mr. Mede upon this occasion) why men think so, is, I suppose, the absolute silence of them in scripture until the time of the second temple; but though the name might not, it is possible the thing might be. CHAP. XXI. Disc. xviii.

The learned are divided in their opinions concerning the rise and antiquity of synagogues, some contending that they were in use under the tabernacle and the first temple, and others that they had their beginning under the second. The judicious writer above mentioned is inclined to believe that they were not taken up at the captivity, but long before; but he says it is difficult to prove it. His arguments in defence of his opinion are these: Did not the Levites, shall we think, teach the people out of Jerusalem in the places abroad where they dwelt? And did not the people use to resort to such as could teach them on sabbath days and new moons? What doth that of the Shunamite argue else, where her husband saith unto her, *Wherefore wilt thou go* Book iv. p. 839. 2 Kings iv. 23.

BOOK III. *to him* (the man of God) *to day? it is neither new moon nor sabbath.* If this, had they not some place where to resort and assemble? Besides, were there not then colleges of prophets and prophets' sons in Ver. 43. Israel? In the same chapter we shall find they had, and a hundred men in a place; and in the sixth chapter, that they had houses where they lived together. Did the Israelites erect houses of false worship? Too many. Could they think of building places to transgress God's commandment in, and never of places wherein to be instructed in his law? But the scripture is silent. I answer, if the silence of scripture be an argument sufficient to conclude against matter of fact in the times preceding, for the use whereof we have testimony enough in the times following, without any express intimation of novelty, then must we not think that the Jews paid tithes from Joshua's time to Hezekiah's, nor that ever they kept the year of jubilee, for there is no tittle intimating they did; and so of other the like.

There are other arguments urged in defence of this opinion, which carry some authority along with them. It is said that the Jews could not possibly celebrate those solemnities to which they were obliged, if they had not synagogues, or meetings of particular assemblies. When they were in the wilderness, what could they do on the sabbath day, when the court of the tabernacle would not hold the thousandth part of them, and when family duties only would not reach the rule that was set before them? And when they were come into the land, when distance of place from Jerusalem made going thither every sabbath impossible, and when every family were not

able to read the law, much less to expound it; nay, when many and many families were neither able to carry on a sabbath day's work, nor hire or procure one that was learned and able to carry it on, what could they then do without synagogues, but lose the law, sabbath, religion, and the knowledge of God, and themselves and all? It is certain they were under the second temple, when the people were now lost in hypocrisy and traditions; and can we think that those corrupt times outwent the purer and holier times of David, Joshua, and Samuel, in finding out a means so absolutely needful for the maintenance of knowledge and religion, as their synagogue meetings were? Can we conceive that Pharisees should set up these so useful inventions, and that the elders, and prophets, and holy men under the Old Testament wanted them? Take but the opinion of the Chaldee Paraphrast, who upon the words of Deborah—*My heart is towards the governors of Israel, that willingly offered themselves. Bless ye the Lord*—has this gloss: "I am sent to praise the "scribes of Israel, who, when this affliction was, "ceased not from inquiring after the law; and now "it is comely for them that they sit in the syna- "gogues, and teach the people the words of the law, "and bless and praise the Lord." It cannot therefore be otherwise imagined, but that since the use of synagogues was of so absolute and evident necessity for the support of religion, as that in a short time there could be no religion without them, they were not only of ancient use among the Israelites from their first settlement in Canaan, but they had also a warrantable original, which could not be less than sacred; for though they had not a divine law

Judg. v. 9.

BOOK III. in express terms for their erection, they had (as Dr. Lightfoot observes) a divine necessity indeed for their foundation.

Vol. i. folio, p. 609.

But notwithstanding the plausibility of these arguments, there seems to be a greater reason to conclude that synagogues were not in use under the first temple, but were introduced after the return from the captivity of Babylon; for, not to insist upon the silence in the scriptures of the Old Testament, there are several passages contained in them, which prove evidently that there could be no such places for public worship in those days. It is a common saying among the Jews, that where there is no book of the law, there can be no synagogue. And the reason of the thing proves it; for the principal service of the synagogue being the reading of the law, where there was no book of the law to be read, there certainly could be no synagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all Judah, before the Babylonish captivity, many texts of scripture inform us. When Jehoshaphat sent teachers through all Judah to instruct the people in the law, they carried a book of the law with them; which they had no occasion to have done, if there had been any copies of the law in those cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there been any synagogues in those places; it being the same absurdity to suppose a Jewish synagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to suppose a parish church without a Bible. And when Hilkiah found the law in the temple, neither he nor king Josiah would have been so surprised at it, had books of the law been common, as they certainly would, had there been synagogues in those times.

2 Chron. xvii. 9.

2 Kings xxii.

Their behaviour upon that occasion sufficiently proves that they had never seen it before; which could not be, had there been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no synagogues for them to resort to for the hearing of it read to them. CHAP. XXI.

Besides, though we allow the reason of erecting synagogues might be grounded upon a command in the Levitical law, where *holy convocations* are required upon the sabbath days, yet it does not appear, nor follow, that the building of synagogues in the land was immediately put in execution. For though Moses requires the duty of assembling, yet he prescribes no orders for the place of meeting, nor for the persons who were to superintend the public worship at that time. These were moral duties left to the determination of the governors of the church, who were at liberty to decide concerning them as they thought fit, and to erect public places where they should be used, as the exigencies of the church required; and there being no apparent necessity for such places till after the captivity, then we may justly date the beginning of them. Upon the return from Babylon, the learned Levites, and other scribes that were best skilled in the divine law, read it to the people in every city. They assembled in some wide street, or a convenient place without doors, which being exposed to the wind and weather in the stormy seasons of the year, for the remedy they erected houses, or tabernacles, where to meet for this purpose. And this seems to be the original of synagogues. Levit. xxiii. 4.

These places of worship were so framed and con-

BOOK III.

trived as to bear a resemblance of the temple of Jerusalem, towards which they always pointed. They consisted of two parts, which may be called *the chancel* and *the church.* The chancel they called *the temple*, and it stood westward, as did the *sanctum sanctorum* in the tabernacle and temple; and in this they set the ark or chest, (for every synagogue had one,) in which they laid up the book of the law. The place was usually lighted with a great many lamps, which hung from the ceiling above. In the body of the church the congregation met, and prayed, and heard the law; and the manner of their sitting was thus: the elders sat in an hemicircle near the chancel, with their faces down the church; and the people sat, one form behind another, with their faces up the church towards the chancel and the elders. They use, says Maimonides, respect in the synagogues and schools, and sweep them and floor them. And the Israelites in Spain, and the west, and in Shinar, and the land of comeliness, used to set up lights in their synagogues, and floor them with mats to sit upon; but in the land of Edom (the Roman empire) they sit upon seats. Between the people and the elders thus facing one the other, there was a space where the pulpit stood: here was the law read, and sermons delivered to the people. The women were not admitted into the congregation with the men, but they were placed in an apartment on one side, where they could see into the body of the church, and hear the divine service performed there. Over the gate of their synagogues this inscription was written, *This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it;* and upon the walls were these and the like sentences: "Re-

Tephillah.

Psal. cxviii. 20.

"member thy Creator." "Enter the house of the "Lord thy God in humility." "Prayer without "attention is like a body without a soul." "Silence "is commendable in time of prayer."

It is said by the Jews that synagogues were anciently built in the fields; but they were afterwards erected in cities; and provision was made by sharp canons, that they should always be built in the highest places of the city, and that in height they should exceed all the houses about them. Any person, Jew or Gentile, might erect a synagogue; for the holiness of the place, they thought, consisted not so much in the fabric, as in its being set apart and dedicated to holy uses; but when once it was consecrated, it was thought sacrilegious to alienate it, or convert it to any civil purposes whatsoever.

It was a rule that a synagogue was to be erected in every place where there were ten men of some learning, fashion, and quality, that had time, and were piously disposed to attend upon divine service. Where so many were not to be found, there no synagogue could be built. Their preciseness for the number ten arose from hence, that they esteemed no congregation to be lawful or acceptable to God which consisted of a less; and that God would not receive prayers, or was any way present, in an assembly of a fewer number. There were but few of these public places at first; but afterwards they became numerous, in the same manner as parish churches with us, which they so much resembled; so that in our Saviour's time there was no town in Judæa but what had one or more in it. There were twelve at that time at Tiberias, a city of Galilee; and, if we believe the Jews, four hundred and eighty

BOOK III. at Jerusalem, particularly one near the court in the mountain of the temple.

Of those ten men that constituted a synagogue some had a superiority of power above the rest. In every synagogue there was a civil *triumvirate*, three magistrates, whose office it was to decide the differences arising between the members of that synagogue, and to take care that the worship be regularly performed. These pronounced judgment concerning pecuniary matters, thefts, losses, restitutions, ravishing a virgin, a man enticing a virgin, of the admission of proselytes, laying on of hands, and other things of a civil and religious concern. These were properly called *rulers of the synagogue*, because the chief power of government was in their hands. This court of three had authority to inflict corporal punishment, as scourging; but they could not condemn to death.

Next to these was a public minister of the synagogue, called *a bishop of the congregation*, and *angel of the church*. His business was to offer prayers for the whole assembly, to which they answered *Amen;* and to preach, if there were no other to discharge that office. The reading of the law was not properly his business; but every sabbath he called out seven of the synagogue (on other days fewer) to execute that duty: but he stood by the person that read, to observe whether he read falsely or improperly, and called him back, or corrected him, if he had done amiss: and from hence this officer was called *overseer*. He took care that the worship should be performed without disorder and indecency, and of every thing that conduced to regulate the service.

The manner of calling out was usually in this method: a priest was called out first, and then a Levite, if any of these orders were present in the assembly, and after that, any other Israelite, till they made up in all the number of seven. And hence it was that anciently every section of the law was divided into seven lesser sections, for the use of these seven readers; and in some Hebrew Bibles these lesser sections are marked in the margin, the first with the word *cohen*, that is, *the priest;* the second with the word *Levi*, that is, *the Levite;* the third with the word *shelishi*, that is, *the third;* and so the rest with Hebrew words signifying the numbers following to the seventh, to direct what part was to be read by the priest, what by the Levite, and what by each of the other five, who might be any Israelite, of what tribe soever, that was able to read the Hebrew text.

There were also three deacons, or almoners, who had upon them the care of the poor: two of them collected the alms, and the third managed the distribution. And these seven perhaps were reputed *the seven good men of the city*, of whom there is so frequent mention in the Talmudists.

The eighth person of the ten was the interpreter, who stood by him that read in the law, and rendered the Hebrew original, that was not commonly understood, into the mother tongue; and sometimes used the liberty of enlarging upon the text, and paraphrasing upon it. The reader did not deliver himself aloud to the people, but he whispered in the interpreter's ears, who spake aloud to the assembly, who sat upon the ground to hear him.

The office of the ninth and tenth is not so easy

BOOK III. to determine: perhaps the master of the divinity school was the one, and his interpreter the other. This learned *decemvirate* were the representative body of the synagogue. They were not confined to be of the sacerdotal order; but any one, of what tribe soever, if he was qualified by learning, was admitted into the administration, after he was first ordained by imposition of hands; which initiatory rite passed upon them all.

But there are others who give a different account of the officers belonging to the synagogue. They deny, in general, that this *decemvirate* had any manner of jurisdiction in civil cases; and contend, that the consistory, or peculiar bench of the synagogue, was wholly distinct from the civil judicature of the place. The rulers of the synagogue, whose number they say is undetermined, had the care only of religion and divine worship. Next to these, or perhaps one of them, was the angel of the church, or the bishop, who was the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God. Then were the deacons, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, called *overseers*, who under the rulers of the synagogue had the care and charge of things in it. They kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets, and other holy scriptures, all the public liturgies, and other utensils belonging to the synagogue, and brought them out when they were to be used in the service: and particularly they stood by and overlooked such as read the lessons out of the law and the prophets, and set them right if they had read amiss, and took the book of them again when they had done. The next fixed officer was the interpreter, who interpreted the lessons read

in Hebrew into the Chaldee. He was supported by a salary, and admitted as a standing minister of the synagogue. CHAP. XXI.

CHAP. XXII.

The service of the synagogue. The public prayers. The reading of the scriptures. Expounding and preaching. The times of worship in the synagogue.

THE service to be performed in the synagogue-assemblies were prayers, reading of the scriptures, and expounding upon them. The temple itself was a house of prayer, as well as a place of sacrifice, as appears by the form used by Solomon at the dedication of it. He addressed himself to God, that in whatever miseries or distress the people should fall, either by temporal plagues or punishments from without, or by the apprehension of their sins within, if they applied to him in prayer either in or towards his holy temple, that he would vouchsafe to hear and deliver them from their troubles. Josephus speaks to the same purpose: "If it shall so fall "out that thy people go astray, and that afterwards "being punished by thee with death, pestilence, or "any such chastisement, by which thou reclaimest "those that offend, to the observance of thy laws; if "then they have recourse to this temple by prayer, "beseeching mercy of thee, that thou wouldst please "to hear them and have mercy on them, and de-"liver them from their adversities." It is certain that prayers were daily put up together with their offerings: and though we have very few constitutions concerning them, yet the constant practice of the Jewish church, and the particular forms of prayer

1 Kings viii.

Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2.

BOOK III. yet extant in their writings, are a sufficient evidence. For this purpose they had liturgies, or prescribed forms, which may be proved to be in use from the very infancy of the Hebrew nation.

The forms of prayer that belonged to the worship of the synagogue were very few at first; but since, they are increased to a large number, which makes the service very long and tedious; and the rubric by which they regulate it is so intricate and perplexed, and encumbered with so many rites and ceremonious observances, that they equal, if not exceed, the superstition of the Romish church. The most solemn part of their prayers are those which they call *the eighteen prayers*, composed, as they say, by Ezra, with the assistance of the great synagogue, consisting of a hundred and twenty elders, in which number were three prophets, Haggai, Zachary, and Malachi. Ezra, says a rabbi, composed those benedictions which by the consistory were enjoined to be perpetually observed, so that it was not lawful to change or alter them, neither to add to them or to diminish from them; every alteration of those formulas, which by the wise men were devised and confirmed in those prayers, being accounted for a fault. And this was done, as the same writer observes in another place, that every man might have them in his mouth, and be perfect in them, and that thereby the prayers of the ignorant might be as complete as those of a more eloquent tongue.

Maim. in Tephillah.

The occasion of compiling this form, the Jews say, was this; that Ezra observing the decay of the Hebrew language, through the neglect of the people, and their affectation to speak in other tongues, and consequently to pray in them too, thought it

Abendana's Polity of the Jews, p. 100.

the most effectual way to preserve the one, and to refrain them from their fondness for the other, to prescribe certain forms. Now these, says my author, are in number eighteen: first, praises; secondly, petitions for things necessary for the support of life; and, thirdly, thanksgivings; which take up the whole duty of public prayer. These eighteen prayers may be thus translated.

"1. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the God "of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of "Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful "and tremendous, the high God, bountifully dis- "pensing benefits, the Creator and Possessor of the "universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our "fathers, and in thy love sendest a Redeemer to "those who descended from them, for thy name "sake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour, and our "Shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the "Shield of Abraham.

"2. Thou, O God Lord, art powerful for ever. "Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to "save. Thou sendest down the dew, stillest the "winds, and makest the rain to come down upon "the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all "that live therein, and of thy abundant mercy "makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up "those that fall, thou curest the sick, thou loosest "them that are bound, and makest good thy word "of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is "to be compared to thee, O thou Lord of might? "And who is like unto thee, O our king, who kill- "est and makest alive, and makest salvation to "spring up as the herb out of the field? Thou "art faithful to make the dead rise again to life.

BOOK III. " Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead " again to life.

" 3. Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and " thy saints do praise thee every day. *Selah.* For " a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Blessed " ed art thou, O Lord God most holy.

" 4. Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto " men, and teachest them understanding. Give gra- " ciously unto us wisdom, knowledge, and under- " standing. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gra- " ciously givest knowledge unto men.

" 5. Bring us back, O our Father, to the ob- " servance of thy law, and make us to adhere to " thy precepts. And do thou, O our King, draw us " near to thy worship, and convert us unto thee by " perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art " thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by " repentance.

" 6. Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for " we have sinned. Pardon us, O our King, for we " have transgressed against thee; for thou art a " God good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, " O Lord most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies " in the forgiveness of sins.

" 7. Look, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. " Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and " plead thou our cause in all our litigations, and " make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemp- " tion for thy name's sake; for thou art our God, " our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art " thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

" 8. Heal us, O Lord our God, and we shall be " healed. Save us, and we shall be saved; for thou " art our praise. Bring unto us sound health and

" a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for
" all our griefs, and for all our wounds; for thou
" art a God who healest and art merciful. Blessed
" art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases
" of thy people Israel.

" 9. Bless us, O Lord our God, in every work of
" our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the
" year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a
" blessing unto us upon the face of all our land,
" and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send
" down moisture upon every part of the earth that
" is habitable. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest
" thy blessing to the years.

" 10. Convocate us together by the sound of the
" great trumpet to the enjoyment of our liberty,
" and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the
" captivity from the four quarters of the earth into
" our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who
" gatherest together the exiles of the people of Is-
" rael.

" 11. Restore unto us our judges as at the first,
" and our counsellors as at the beginning; and re-
" move far from us affliction and trouble; and do
" thou only reign over us in benignity, and in
" mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Bless-
" ed art thou, O Lord our King, who lovest right-
" eousness and justice.

" 12. Upon the pious and the just, and upon the
" proselytes of justice, and upon the remnant of thy
" people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be
" moved, O Lord our God; and give a good re-
" ward unto all who faithfully put their trust in
" thy name; and grant us our portion with them,
" and for ever let us not be ashamed, for we put

BOOK III. " our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who
" art the support and confidence of the just.

" 13. Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy
" city, as thou hast promised; build it with a build-
" ing to last for ever; and do this speedily, even in
" our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who build-
" est Jerusalem.

" 14. Make the offspring of David thy servant
" speedily to grow up and flourish, and let our horn
" be exalted in thy salvation; for we hope for thy
" salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord,
" who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.

" 15. Hear our voice, O Lord our God, most
" merciful Father. Pardon, and have mercy upon
" us, and accept of our prayers with mercy and fa-
" vour, and send us not away empty from thy pre-
" sence, O our King; for thou hearest with mercy
" the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou,
" O Lord, who hearest prayer.

" 16. Be thou well pleased, O Lord our God,
" with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their
" prayers. Restore thy worship to the inner part
" of thy house, and make haste with favour and
" love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and
" their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy
" people be continually well pleasing unto thee.
" Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy di-
" vine presence to Zion.

" 17. We will give thanks unto thee with praise,
" for thou art the Lord our God, the God of our
" fathers, for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock,
" and the Rock of our life, the Shield of our salva-
" tion. To all generations will we give thanks unto
" thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life,

" which is always in thy hands; and because of
" our souls, which are depending upon thee; and
" because of thy signs, which are every day with
" us; and because of thy wonders and marvellous
" lovingkindnesses, which are morning and even-
" ing and night continually before us. Thou art
" good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art
" merciful, for thy lovingkindnesses fail not. For
" ever we hope in thee; and for all these mercies
" be thy name, O King, blessed and exalted, and
" lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all
" that live give thanks unto thee. *Selah.* And let
" them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O
" God of our salvation, and our help. *Selah.* Bless-
" ed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and
" whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto.

" 18. Give peace, beneficence, and benediction,
" grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel
" thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of
" us together, as one man, with the light of thy
" countenance; for in the light of thy countenance
" hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the
" law of life, and love, and benignity, and right-
" eousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and
" peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes to
" bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times,
" and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord,
" who blessest thy people Israel with peace. *Amen.*"

To these eighteen was another added, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the time of rabbi Gamaliel. It was drawn up by rabbi Samuel, called the *lesser*, and designed against the Christians, who are meant in it under the names of *heretics* and *apostates*. The form was this:

BOOK III.

" Let there be no hope to them who apostatize " from the true religion; and let heretics, how " many soever they be, all perish, as in a moment; " and let the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted " out, and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, " O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and " bringest down the proud."

Before these prayers are delivered by the minister, every person in the congregation does in a low voice repeat them for himself, that he might be the better prepared for the more solemn rehearsal of them. Then the minister officiating does in the name of all present repeat them with a loud voice, every one keeping silence, except at the conclusion of each petition, when they answer *Amen.* This was peculiar to public prayer in the synagogue; for in the temple at the end of their petitions they said, " Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom " for ever and ever;" it being an established canon among them, that no prayer was rightly composed, unless express mention was made of God's kingdom and glory. Between the second and third petition was repeated the angelical hymn, " Holy, holy, holy," which might not be used by any man in his private addresses, being altogether appropriated to public devotion. Immediately before the last petition the minister pronounces the benediction, prescribed by divine command to be used at the conclusion of their solemn sacrifices, which was to be done by one of the sons of Aaron; yet it was usually delivered by the minister, except upon some great festivals, when one of the family of Aaron, if any were present, performed that office with all agreeable solemnity.

Numb. vi. 22, &c.

These eighteen prayers are in the liturgies of the Jews no other than as the Lord's Prayer in ours, that is, they are the fundamental and principal part; for besides them they have many others, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which altogether make the service of the synagogue exceeding long and tedious. But these eighteen, upon the account of their great excellency, say the Jews, have had such a settled reputation, that they are at this day used, without any the least difference, by all that nation, wheresoever dispersed, and constantly make up the most considerable part of their public service; the rest being designed chiefly as an introduction and preparation to them. So that whatever occasional forms might be used in different places, these notwithstanding are observed every where three times a day, as the constant and standing rules and measures of their devotion; to the performance of which all that were of age, of what sex or condition soever, were indispensably obliged; and this the rather, because they are held to be of great antiquity, and are expressly mentioned in the Mishna, which next to the holy scriptures is a book of the greatest authority, and therefore the most venerable now in use among them. Neither are they bound to make use of them constantly (as has been said) in their synagogues only, but also in their private houses; insomuch that every particular man is obliged to offer up his prayers in those very forms, when he cannot have the advantage of doing this publicly in the congregation.

But because these prayers were of a considerable

BOOK III.

length, and could not be repeated in a short time; and because the exigency of their affairs was sometimes such, that they had not sufficient leisure to attend them; therefore, in cases of extreme danger to their persons, as in times of war and persecutions, and insuperable difficulties and necessities, as in a journey that required haste and expedition, they were allowed to use the following form:

"The necessities of thy people are many, their "understanding is weak; may it please thee, O "Lord our God, to grant us what is sufficient for "our sustenance, and to send a supply proportioned "to every man's wants, and what is good in thine "eyes. Blessed be thou, O Lord, that hearest "prayer."

Others, instead of that form, made use of this following, upon the like occasions, being a compendious abstract of the nineteen principal prayers, beginning at the fourth, and ending with the sixteenth, and is thus conceived:

"Give us understanding, O Lord our God, to "know thy ways; circumcise our hearts, that we "may fear thee; grant us pardon, that we may be "cleansed from our sins; remove from us all griefs "and sorrows; grant that we may enjoy the plea-"sures of thy habitation in the Holy Land; gather "thy dispersed from the four corners of the earth; "judge them that do err from thy law; let the "righteous be glad in the restoration of thy holy "city, the reestablishment of thy temple, and the "restitution of the kingdom of David, that his "name may shine, and his crown flourish. Before

"we call, do thou answer, and whilst we are yet "speaking, do thou hearken; for thou art our Re- "deemer and Deliverer in all our tribulation and "distress. Blessed be thou, O God, that hearest "prayer."

As to these two forms there is this remarkable difference, that whoever used the latter was obliged to repeat the three first and the three last prayers of the nineteen at full length, and in a standing posture; whereas in the former neither is required. But whoever used the latter was under no obligation to offer up the nineteen prayers when his danger or necessity was removed; whereas he that made use of the former was. It was a standing canon, that every one that prayed in the short form was always to pray in the plural number; and they give an excellent reason, because it should never seem as if a man was cut off from the public congregation.

The Jews anciently, when they went to pray, covered their head and face with a veil, as a sign of humility and confusion, when they appeared in the Divine presence. The postures they used were either standing, according to the examples of holy men recorded in scripture, or bowing, or kneeling, or prostration, which three last were used upon the great day of expiation, and other solemnities of prayer, confession, and humiliation for sins; but always with their faces towards the temple if they dwelt in Jerusalem, or towards the Holy Land, where the temple stood, if they lived elsewhere. They were obliged to appear clean and neat in their clothes when they came to public worship,

BOOK III.

not to eat, or drink, or sleep in their synagogues; and every thing was to be done with decency and order.

The second part of service performed in the synagogue was the reading of the scriptures. This was divided into three parts: the first was the reading of the Shema, the second the reading of the Law, and the third the reading of the Prophets. The first was an office containing three sections of the law: the first section began at the fourth verse of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, and ended with the ninth verse; the second was from the beginning of the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of Deuteronomy to the end of the twenty-first verse; and the third from the beginning of the thirty-seventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Numbers to the end of the chapter. And because the first of these portions in the Hebrew Bible begins with the word *shema*, that is, *hear*, they call the three divisions the *shema*. This office, next to the nineteen prayers, is read with the greatest solemnity, as comprising the fundamental principles of their religion; and is upon that account carefully taught their children as soon as they can speak plain. The nineteen prayers were to be said thrice every day by all persons that were of age, without any exception; but the reading of the shema was but twice a day, that is, morning and evening, (in the public assemblies, or in private,) and the males only of free condition were obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. The obligation to repeat this shema morning and even-

Deut. vi. 7.

ing they derive from those words of the law, *And*

thou shalt talk of them when thou liest down and when thou risest up: and the reading of it they thought of the greatest importance to keep up the spirit of religion, which it excellently promoted by making confession twice every day of the unity of God, and of the sacred duties they owed to him.

The reading of the law was a principal part of the synagogue service: for this purpose the five books of Moses were divided into fifty-four sections. This, it is supposed, was done by Ezra, that the people might be the easier instructed in the Divine law. Every sabbath-day one of these sections was read in their synagogues. They ended the last section with the last words of Deuteronomy upon the sabbath of the feast of tabernacles, and then began anew with the first section from the beginning of Genesis the next sabbath after, and so went round in this circle every year. The number of these sections was fifty-four; because in their intercalated years (a month being then added) there were fifty-four sabbaths. Upon other years they reduced them to the number of the sabbaths in these years, by joining two short ones several times into one; for they thought themselves obliged to have the whole law read over in their synagogues every year. It has been observed before, that after the return from Babylon the reading of the law was in the Hebrew language, and then rendered by an interpreter into the Chaldee, that so it might be fully understood by the people. And this was done period by period; and therefore that these periods might be the better distinguished, and the reader more certainly know

BOOK III.

how much to read at every interval, and the interpreter how much to interpret, the scriptures were divided into verses; and the rule was, that in the law the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render it into Chaldee. But in the prophets he was to read three verses together, and the interpreter was to interpret in the same manner.

The law was always read by the person standing, partly, say the Jews, for the greater honour of it, and partly because God said to Moses, *Stand thou here with me.* The minister of the congregation calls out the reader, and he goes into the desk or pulpit, which stands in the middle of the synagogue for that purpose, and looks out the section he is to read; but does not begin before he is commanded by the bishop or angel of the church. The tradition says, that upon the sabbath the readers of the law were seven; upon the day of expiation six; upon holydays five; upon the new moons, and the seven days of the great festivals, four; and upon the second and the fifth day of every week, three; and the law was not allowed to be read by less than three one after another.

The Jews at this time keep a book of the law in all their synagogues. It is written upon calves' skins of many ells in length, always by a Jew, and with great care; for the least mistake pollutes the whole. The characters are fair and large; but they have no points. The skins are fastened to two rollers, which are longer than the breadth of the skins; and by these they hold the book. This copy is esteemed with great veneration; all the as-

sembly kiss it as many as can reach; but such as cannot, touch it with their hands, which afterwards they solemnly kiss. It is preserved in an ark, or coffer, in imitation of the ark under the first temple, wherein the tables of the testimony were laid up.

Till the time of the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, no part of the scriptures but the Pentateuch was read in the synagogues of the Jews; but when that tyrant had destroyed or profaned all the copies of the law that came to his hands, and which the Jews were obliged to deliver upon pain of death, such who persisted still in the established worship, instead of the lessons that were read every sabbath out of the law, made choice of so many portions out of the prophets; and upon this occasion was the reading of the prophets first introduced into the Jewish worship, and was continued in their synagogues ever after: for when that sad persecution was over, and the reading of the law restored, the prophets were also read with it; and instead of one lesson they had two, the first out of the law, and the second out of the prophets. This lesson out of the prophets was generally read by one of the number of those who read the law; he was called out by the minister of the congregation, went up into the desk, had the book of the prophet given him, began with a prayer, and had an interpreter. In reading the prophets they were not so punctual as in reading the law; for they might contract the lesson if they thought fit, or turn over from one place to another, not observing that form and regularity which the rubric enjoined.

BOOK III.

The part of the synagogue service which remains yet unexplained, is the expounding of the scriptures, and preaching from them to the people. The first was performed at the time of reading, and the other after the law and the prophets were read. This was done sitting; and though the Levitical tribe was set apart for the public ministry, and to instruct the people, yet others of other tribes often studied the law, and became public preachers as well as the priests and Levites; but no one presumed to execute this office before he was solemnly ordained and appointed to it. But this ordination was not always accompanied with imposition of hands; it was sufficient to give the person the appellation of rabbi, and to say to him, Be thou ordained; and that was his commission. Every teacher at first assumed to himself a right of ordaining his scholars as he saw fit; but afterwards the sanhedrim took the power into their own hands; and therefore it was far from being a common use, or any use at all among the Jews, to allow any mechanical or unordained person to step into the doctor's chair, or to preach divinity in their synagogues, as impudence and folly should urge them on; but they had a solemn dimission into such employments by a lawful ordination, by men that were regularly ordained themselves.

The times of the synagogue service were three days a-week, besides holydays, whether fasts or festivals; and thrice every day, in the morning, the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary days for divine service were Monday, Thursday, and Saturday: the two first were set apart by the appoint-

ment of the elders; but the last was their sabbath, and separated by God for religious exercises and public worship; so that they are not three days without the reading of the law. The method of reading was established in this manner: the Pentateuch was divided (as before observed) into as many sections as there are weeks in the year. Upon Monday they began with that which was appointed for that week, and read it half through; upon Thursday they read the remainder; and upon Saturday, which was their sabbath, they read all over again, from the beginning of the section to the end, and this both morning and evening. Upon the week days they read it only in the morning; but upon the sabbath it was likewise read in the evening, for the benefit of labourers and artificers, who could not attend the synagogues upon the week days, and so they might hear the whole section read over to them twice in every week. When the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, the same order was observed in it.

Upon every day when the public service of the synagogue was performed, they assembled three times for the sake of their prayers; that is, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. And this practice, in the opinion of the Jewish doctors, was instituted by the three patriarchs; the morning by Abraham, at which time he performed his devotion; *Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord;* that is, says the Chaldee paraphrast, *where he used to pray.* Gen. xix. 27.

The noon-day by Isaac; *Isaac went out to meditate or to pray at the eventide;* that is, at the time of Gen. xxiv. 63.

BOOK III.

the sun's declension from its meridian. The evening by Jacob; *And Jacob lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night.* But others more reasonably conjecture, that this practice was used in imitation of David; *evening, and morning, and at noon will I pray.*

Gen. xxviii. 11.

Ps. lv. 17.

These three times of prayer were also observed during the temple service, in compliance with the times of offering the daily sacrifices, at which solemnities prayers were constantly used, and always looked upon as the most substantial parts of worship, whereby the sacrifices themselves were consecrated, and rendered acceptable to God. And notwithstanding there were only two daily sacrifices, that of the morning and that of the evening, yet because this latter (which began about three in the afternoon) continued sometimes all night upon the altar burning, therefore prayers were then also used; and this made the third time of public devotion. When synagogues were erected, the hours of public devotion were, as to morning and evening prayers, the same in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the temple; and the same times of the day they observed in their private prayers wheresoever performed. Those who lived in Jerusalem, or in other places, and had not time or opportunity to go up to the temple, if it were a synagogue day, resorted thither to perform their devotions, and joined in prayer with the congregation. If it was not a synagogue day, they prayed in private; but generally chose the synagogue as the properest place even for private prayer. If they had no opportunity to go to the synagogue, they prayed,

Lev. vi. 9.

at the hour of prayer, in whatever place they were, in the street, or in the market, rather than lose the benefit of devotion. But many of them had upper rooms in their houses, which were as chapels, or oratories, particularly set apart and consecrated for this purpose.

END OF VOL. I.

lots. mode of casting — p 157